FBIS DAILY REPORT

MIDDLE EAST & SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

27 MAY 1987

Egypt

The government is taking measures to provide further security and protection for foreigners in Cairo, Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi stated in remarks reported by MENA. Sidqi and Foreign Minister 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid both deplored the attack on U.S. Embassy staffers and promised that security forces will do their utmost to find the culprits, the agency noted. A description of the attackers given by the two injured Americans is similar to that of individuals wanted in connection with earlier attacks on Israelis in Cairo, MENA noted.

Syria's *Tishrin* welcomed the attack in an editorial reviewed by Damascus radio, stating that the incident is an extension of the Egyptian people's revolt against the "capitulatory regime" and is a true expression of their grudge against those who act as "helpers and partners of the Arab nation's enemy." The attack on the U.S. presence by "heroes of Arab Egypt" has "large and profound" implications, the paper asserted. Tehran radio's Arabic service likewise said the attack was carried out by "Egyptian Muslim rebels" who have resolved to attack U.S. and Israeli personnel in Egypt as long as President Husni Mubarak's "Zionist and anti-Islam regime" continues to cooperate with the "usurpers of Jerusalem." Both Tehran and Tripoli radios also cited reports of a recent attack by "nomads" on the U.S. ambassador's car in Egypt. Quoting an unspecified Kuwaiti paper, Tripoli radio said this incident occurred when the ambassador was driving back to Cairo from the western desert oasis of Siwa, adding that the car was hit and could not make the journey back to the capital.

Israel

Pollard Affair — An Inner Cabinet recommendation to adopt the Rotenstreich-Tzur report on the Pollard affair was approved at a 27 May Cabinet session, IDF radio reported. On the contents of the report, Jerusalem radio noted that it criticizes present and former Prime Ministers Yitzhaq Shamir, Shim'on Peres, and Yitzhaq Rabin for their handling of the Pollard affair, but places ultimate responsibility collectively on the whole government. The document also criticizes former intelligence chief Rafi Eytan and Colonel Avi'em Sela' for their role in the affair.

As for the related report of the Knesset subcommittee chaired by MK Abba Eban, Jerusalem radio noted that both Peres and Rabin criticized the "political" character of this report, which holds Peres more responsible for the affair than other politicians because he was prime minister when it was revealed. Peres defended himself against the committee's criticisms in an IDF radio interview, asserting that he acted "correctly" and "rescued the country from an extremely grave and difficult situation." IDF radio earlier broadcast a statement by Eban, who noted his committee's recommendation that "the government would be wise to state unequivocally that the state of Israel admits its responsibility and will continue to act to correct the damages." The committee considered that this should have been the government's immediate reaction to the Pollard crisis, he said, adding that the political echelon committed other mistakes by seeking to promote Col Sela' and by failing to investigate Rafi Eytan's operation. While emphasizing the committee's judgment that the political echelon did not approve or know about Eytan's recruitment of Pollard, Eban noted its view that "this was not a rogue operation" and Israel cannot shake off responsibility.

Gaza, West Bank — Security forces suspect that "terrorists" were responsible for the killing of a policeman in Gaza 26 May, Jerusalem radio reported. A Nabulus resident was shot dead the same evening while participating in riots which were dispersed by IDF gunfire, the radio said.

Iran

Besharati on Kuwait — In remarks cited by IRNA, acting Foreign Minister 'Ali Mohammad Besharati warned that if "the big powers" take any action against Iran's interests, Iran will "make Kuwait sorry" for inviting the superpowers into the region. The minister also asserted that during his recent tour of Gulf and African states he learned that Kuwait had "bribed" the Muslim countries to participate in the Islamic summit held recently in Kuwait, adding that an official of one country said his government received 200 million dollars from Kuwait.

Cuban Foreign Minister's Visit — Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca arrived in Tehran for talks with Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Tehran radio reported.

Opposition Activity — A Mojahedin-e Khalq communique cited by AFP claimed that 25 Iranian government soldiers and two Mojahedin fighters were killed in a 2 May battle in Tehran.

Tunisia

Security forces discovered the headquarters of a secret pro-Khomeyni organization in Tunis and arrested several of the group's leaders and members, Tunis radio announced. "A huge quantity" of equipment used by the outfit to carry out "terrorist and destructive" activities was seized in the raid.

Lebanon

The Lebanese Forces Command Council welcomed the Chamber of Deputies recent decision to cancel the Cairo Agreement, but termed it "incomplete" because it failed to address the issue of Syrian forces in Lebanon, according to a statement cited by the clandestine Radio Free Lebanon. The staement called on the Chamber to take "a similar step" regarding the Syrian military presence in Lebanon to demonstrate the "illegitimacy" of this presence.

PDRY

In a press interview cited by Aden radio, Minister of State Security Sa'id Salih Salim discussed "biased rumors" being spread by "antirevolutionary forces." He said the rumors have "no relevance whatsoever to our conditions" and urged officials and the masses not to heed or circulate "such allegations," but to strive to establish their source and the intentions behind them and then "put an end" to them in coordination with the party organization.

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'Arafat on PNC, Ties With Egypt, Syria

JN260854 Baghdad Voice of the PLO in Arabic 1831 GMT 25 May 87

["Text" of interview with PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, identified by his nom de guerre Abu 'Ammar, by Bilal al-Hasan, editor in chief of the Paris-based Arabic magazine *Al-Yawm al-Sabi'*, appearing in its "latest issue;" date and place not given]

[Text] *Al-Yawm al-Sabi'*: The Arab and world press has talked much about the results of the 18th PNC session. The results were considered a political victory for Yasir 'Arafat and for PLO policy. However, we want to hear your personal assessment of this session.

Brother Abu 'Ammar: The importance of this session lies in its ability to bolster national unity and restore the unity of its revolutionary tool. This is the first popular movement and the first revolution that has developed differences and managed to restore its unity despite all circumstances, and despite the nature and harshness of challenges and Arab and non-Arab interference in our Palestinian arena. By this I mean the unity of the tool of the revolution. This is so because our masses are united and, practically, the Palestinian unity in Algiers embodies and reflects the unity of our masses in our occupied territory and the unity of our masses in our camps in Beirut and southern Lebanon. This is the importance of this national unity. Our PNC made several important contributions: It bolstered our national unity and opened a new leaf in relations with the Arab countries, even with those countries with which we differ. To be more specific, our PNC was not upset by the Moroccan decision which King Hasan II adopted on the 2d day of our conference. It left the matter for the Palestinian leadership to handle in a brotherly, calm manner. This indicates the awareness and maturity which prevailed in our 18th conference.

We also proudly state that our PNC dealt with all international events and developments, particularly the international conference. It adopted a decision stressing the need to hold this international conference in which the five permanent member states of the UN Security Council and all parties to the conflict, including the PLO, will participate on an equal footing with the other Arab parties. This is one of the points proposed by the PNC and discussed in detail by the Political Committee. It denotes a great awareness and maturity on the part of our national council, as I said at the beginning of my talk. This indicates the great responsibility with which we dealt with most of our people's issues inside and outside the occupied territory.

Despite the Executive Committee's decision to suspend the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement following King Husayn's decision to freeze the agreement, our PNC reaffirmed its previous resolution which was adopted at the 16th and 17th session. It is the resolution which called for establishing distinctive relations between the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples, and which stated that future relations between them should be based on a confederation. This indicates the awareness, maturity, and international responsibility with which we dealt with Palestinian issues, including our decision to start a new relationship with Damascus.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Many newspapers wrote that the PNC proceedings and national unity were a personal triumph for you. Do you agree with this analysis?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: I agree that it was a triumph for our people, our people's masses, and our revolution. It is a triumph which we present to the steadfast masses in our occupied territory and to our masses in their camps — the camps of Palestinian and Arab pride in Beirut and southern Lebanon.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Another analysis of the PNC session says that Yasir 'Arafat made concessions to other parties for the sake of national unity. Can we say there is a party that made concessions or retreated in favor of another party for the sake of national unity?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: First of all, what is wrong if such a claim is correct? Well, I make concessions to the one who holds up arms in the face of my people. [sentence as heard] I make peace with him and extend my hand to him. I feel proud when I extend my hand to my brothers in the Palestinian arena and this is my duty as a Palestinian leader. He who considers this a concession is shortsighted in the way he understands national Palestinian unity. I do not think I have made concessions nor do I think any of the brothers who attended this session made any concessions, although we are all dutybound to make all possible concessions for the sake of our people's unity.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Well, Abu 'Ammar, following the PNC session you made an Arab tour. How did the new Palestinian situation following the PNC session impress the Arab leaders you met?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: In fact, there was considerable rejoicing on both the official and popular levels wherever I went. There was optimism that this Palestinian unity will be an important basis for unified Arab stands and for Arab solidarity toward holding an Arab summit in the near future, God willing.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Have any of the Arab rulers raised questions or expressed fears over the communists' entry into the PLO Executive Committee?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Do not forget that besides the communists, Islamic members joined the committee. We are democratic and accepted the communists in our PNC as we have accepted the Islamic elements. Two of the Islamic followers were elected to the central council.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Can you give their names?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Let them come forward. This is a healthy sign in which we take pride. When the PLO represents the Palestinian people it should represent all of the Palestinian people's trends and inclinations. Here lies the PLO's strength. How did we emerge as the sole legitimate representative? Did we emerge according to an Arab League decision? No, because we really represent these Palestinian people with all of their aspirations, factions, formations, and opinions. Otherwise, our talk about democracy will be meaningless. We have drawn up prin-

ciples of membership. Those to whom these principles apply are welcome in our PNC.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': What are these principles?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Commitment to the national charter and the PNC resolutions, as well as commitment to the liberation of Palestine through all possible means, including armed struggle.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Have the communists officially announced their adherence to these issues or their approval of them?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: They announced this in an official letter submitted to the PNC and reviewed by the Membership Committee and the Legal Committee.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Regarding the organizational issues at the PNC, there were several issues proposed and agreed upon before the start of the dialogue. These issues were later submitted to the Legal Committee. What happened is that the PNC did not announce official resolutions. Examples of these issues are the expansion of the presidency, the expansion of the PLO Executive Committee membership, and the formation of a leadership committee in accordance with a PNC resolution to share the PLO Executive Committee's work. No resolutions were issued on these topics. Some Palestinian papers said there was something similar to a conspiracy by the Legal Committee to reject reforms. I would like to hear your explanation of this issue.

Brother Abu 'Ammar: First of all, we cannot allow an attempt to undermine the bylaws because they represent the legitimacy and legitimacy is an indivisible whole. I will give you an example of this. At the PNC session in Amman, the PNC insisted on electing me as [PLO Executive Committee] chairman as happened this year. However, we manipulated this issue immediately with the approval of the members who were elected to the PLO Executive Committee. This is because the Constitution states this and, therefore, we must respect it. There are laws which govern our actions and we must not undermine or violate them. Otherwise, this means that we allow attempts to undermine our legitimacy. Another example occurred at the 17th PNC session. That PNC adopted a unanimous decison calling for the expulsion and trial of [PFLP-GC Secretary General] Ahmad Jibril and six other individuals. At that moment, the chairman of the Legal Committee stood up and said: Your action is illegal because the law says so and so. Then, the PNC reversed its decision in light of the explanations made by the Legal Committee chairman. By the way, the Legal Committee chairman is not affiliated with any Palestinian organization or party. He is a Palestinian lawyer of whom we are proud. Therefore, when you want to amend the law, the amendment needs time; it needs first, second, and third readings for 8 days. Before the covnening of the PNC, I said the amendment requires 8 days and the PNC session is only 5 days. Therefore, how can the amendment be implemented? Moreover, this requires the approval of two-thirds of the members and not two-thirds of those who attended. They could not obtain two-thirds. In light of this, where is the dictatorship of the Legal Committee?

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': There is a saying, which has become a standard phrase, that following the PNC the PLO restored its course, which is hostile to imperialism.

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Do you think that when imperialism and Zionism bombed my office headquarters they were flirting with me? Or do you think the aggressions against our camps in 1985. 1986, and 1987 was a form of flirtation? Is the Israeli shelling from land and sea a form of flirtation? Is the popular uprising against the Israeli occupation's terrorism and repression a form of flirtation? Are the operations which made Rabin warn us on the first day of the PNC due to our intensified operations inside the occupied homeland and against the Israeli occupation in southern Lebanon a form of flirtation? If you are not ashamed do whatever you want. Some people are not ashamed, and if he who speaks is crazy, then let the one who listens be wise.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': You ended a PLO Executive Committee meeting at dawn yesterday, which was the first since the PNC session. Were you satisfied with the meeting's proceedings, or do you think that the return of the opposition members to work with you has caused some problems?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: During those meetings, I needed more time to explain to those brothers what they missed regarding developments in the arena. I was very happy because some of the resolutions which were not adopted by a unanimous vote were adopted by a majority vote. Everyone was satisfied with the meeting's proceedings. The spirit which permeated our meeting was represented by a high sense of responsibility toward the serious circumstances around us.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': How did you react to Egypt's closure of PLO offices?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: With pain, great pain. I did not expect that, especially when we know that what happened was a result of inaccurate information conveyed to the Egyptian leadership on undermining Egypt at the conference. This did not happen. Luckily, you are a PNC member and you know that I prevented any attempt to ban observers or journalists from attending the meetings of the Political Committee which discussed the Egyptian issue.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': But there are those who interpret this situation by saying that Egypt did this because it was under heavy pressure.

Brother Abu 'Ammar: I do not have complete information on this issue.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': What has been said concerns the official Egyptian decision. After the announcement of the official decision, a very fierce and scandalous media campaign was launched, especially by the newspapers of the *Akhbar al-Yawm* Corporation. Do you believe that some individuals personally initiated this campaign or do you think this is more than a personal effort?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: What we read was more than the result of personally initiated campaigns. However, I am trying to interpret and consider them personally initiated campaigns

prompted by corporations.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Do you mean corporations affiliated with the [Egyptian] authority or not affiliated with that authority?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Corporations, corporations. However, it is a summer cloud that will vanish, God willing.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Are you satisfied with the Executive Committee's resolution on Egypt?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Yes.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Will the resolution be published?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Yes. The resolution will be published. However, it is not a resolution; it is a political statement in which we tackled our Arab relations, including Egyptian-Palestinian relations.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Will you visit Egypt shortly?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Such a visit is not on my agenda at present.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': As for relations with Syria, brother George Habash travelled there and met with President Al- Asad. Is it true that he was officially requested to go there?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: He was officially requested by the Palestinian leadership to go to Damascus.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Do you see a positive development in the Syrian stand toward the PLO following Habash's meeting with President Al-Asad?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: We cannot say there is a positive development, but it was not negative either. We even consider President Al-Asad's evaluation of the PNC meetings as positive. In view of the nature of relations governing the PLO and Syria prior to the PNC meetings, we term Syria's evaluations as positive. We on the Executive Committee have based our handling of this issue on the basis of this stand, and we have formed a committee to follow up this issue.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Are what you call the efforts to improve relations between Syria and the PLO aimed at improving bilateral relations or are they a reflection of a political issue related to Palestinian issues and, for example, the situation in Lebanon?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: These efforts do not stand by themselves. On the contrary, they are related to all current developments in the region.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Are you satisfied with the current camps security situation in Beirut and southern Lebanon?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: No, I am not satisfied. The siege is continuing and the UNRWA is banned from performing its duties. Furthermore, the International Red Cross is also banned from performing its duties. In such a situation, is it possible to envisage allowing the Palestinian Red Cross to perform its duties? The Palestinian Red Crescent is banned from performing its duties. What happened is an end to the shelling in Beirut and the beginning of Israeli air and naval bombardments of Sidon and southern Lebanon. But the siege continues. Free movement is also banned. The arrest campaign has continued, as has the starvation campaign. Until now, we have been smuggling medicine and water into the camps. What has been allowed into the camps is nothing more than some Arab donations.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Will the committee in charge of contacting Syria begin a political or security dialogue with Syria on these issues?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: A political dialogue which takes into consideration the entire situation in the region, including that in Beirut.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Who will preside over this committee?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: One of my brothers.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': From the Executive Committee?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Of course.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Are relations with Syria improving in the same manner as they are with Libya or is this a different improvement?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: It has a completely and radically different nature. We must refer with appreciation to the role the Libyan Jamahiriyah and brother Mu'ammar played in the Palestinian dialogue as well as in bolstering national Palestinian unity and reopening the PLO offices. Before that, he took an honorable stand during the siege of the camps in Beirut.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Were there any contacts with Jordan in light of the recent PNC resolution on relations with it?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Yes, there were contacts, but not on a high level.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Do you expect any political cooperation between you and Jordan in the coming period?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: I do not think this is possible because there is no Jordanian desire to cooperate with the PLO leadership.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Following your Arab tour after the PNC session, did you feel the PNC was a step that would really pave the way for an Arab summit?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: This is what I felt. Moreover, some are optimistic that this Palestinian step will lead to an Arab step and Arab solidarity.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Did you not note any real Arab measures

toward this end?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Of course. The meeting King Fahd held with the brothers in Algeria and Morocco was one of the most prominent efforts undertaken by the Arabs to pave the way for an Arab summit.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Are there any indications that an international conference will be held?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Yes, for the simple reason that there is unanimity on the subject. Today there is an international agreement to hold it. This applies to the nonaligned, Islamic, socialist, and EEC states as well as China. For the first time there is U.S. approval of the principle of holding an international conference, although the Israeli and U.S. viewpoint regarding this conference differs from ours. They want the international conference to be an umbrella while we call for an effective international conference that has powers.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Are you sure the PLO will be invited to the conference?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Which conference?

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': The international conference.

Brother Abu 'Ammar: You say the international conference. Hence, and since it is a UN-sponsored international conference, no one can ignore the PLO as a UN member. Moreover, everyone knows that we are the basic party in the equation of the international conference. Today Peres said in Washington that the PLO is the difficult factor. But you should not think that we are pinning all of our hopes on the international conference. We proceed from the saying: Work for your worldly existence as if you will live for ever and work for the hereafter as if you will die tomorrow. We deal with the political event as well as with the military decision, the escalating struggle, the popular uprising, and the legendary steadfastness in our camps very seriously and responsibly. I do not take anything and should not say this is something which will not happen. [sentence as heard] I want to remind you that I was alert to the Beirut battle and many of the Palestinian leaders asked the political reason which prompted Abu 'Ammar to alert our men. Do I foretell the future? I have facts and I analyze the information in hand and then reach my conclusions.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': What is the present condition of your relations with Moscow?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Our relations are relaxed. We have constant contacts with them.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Do these contacts include exchanging information, consultation, and coordination?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: We hold consultations, for instance, on everything that concerns the international conference. We were in constant contact with them during the camps war. Do not forget that they have a role in bolstering Palestinian dialogue.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Did they play a similar role in reconciling Syria and the PLO?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: This is part of the effort exerted by the Soviet leadership and Comrade Gorbachev in particular.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Do you feel there has been a more satisfactory Soviet dynamism toward the PLO since Gorbachev assumed power?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: More effective and more satisfactory.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Are you satisfied with the new Soviet method of action?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Yes, I am satisfied.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Brother Abu 'Ammar, with the presence of opposition within the Executive Committee, do you now feel...

Brother Abu 'Ammar — interrupting: I know that the one who does not enter the Executive Committee as an opposition member becomes a government member and — laughing — I am the only opponent now in the Executive Committee.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Do they agree with this assessment?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: We are the leaders.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Based on the organizational clauses agreed upon during the dialogue, has a working committee been formed to help you adopt daily decisions?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Sir, I hope everyone will help me adopt this decision. And who told you that I adopt decisions by myself? Who fabricated this against me? Et tu Brute! No Palestinian decision was taken without the Executive Committee's approval.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': During his tour, Leo Tindemans talked about a council of trustees to take charge of the territories occupied in 1967.

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Not a council of trustees, but an Israeli withdrawal and an international trusteeship.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Were you informed of anything to this effect?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Brother Abu al-Lutf [Faruq Qaddumi] was officially informed of this during his meeting with Tindemans in Brussels.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Do you think Tindemans represents a dynamic European stand?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: He represents a dynamic European stand although he made a big mistake when he went to our occupied territory and met with the Israeli military governor. He is not allowed to legitimize an occupation.

Al-Yawm al-Sabi': Was it an intentional mistake?

Brother Abu 'Ammar: Ask him that question.

KUWAIT

Military Intelligence Chief Discusses Gulf

JN261006 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 23 May 87 p 7

[Interview with Staff Brigadier General Jabir Khalid al-Sabah, chief of staff for military intelligence and assistant chief of staff for military operations, by Hana' al-Nuri in Kuwait — date not given]

[Excerpts] [Al-Nuri] What are your plans to protect your territorial waters, especially after attacks on tankers in the Gulf?

[Al-Sabah] Every country is responsible for safeguarding its territorial waters. The Interior Ministry's Coast Guard handles this. However, the defense of other areas is the responsibility of the Defense Ministry. Our defense of our country's security was not the result of the Iraq-Iran war. The Armed Forces are always ready to defend their dear homeland. Our training is continuous and versatile. As his highness the heir apparent said, Kuwait is using all means to defend itself. This means our combat preparedness is continuous.

[Al-Nuri] What are do you expect to happen in the Gulf war? Do you think it will spread beyond its current boundaries?

[Al-Sabah] The information from our military security and intelligence services are based on theories and studies, be they historic or immediate, to determine their predictions in accordance with political and military facts. He who thinks that the work of this apparatus is similar to that of fortune tellers is mistaken. All that we wish concerning the Gulf war is that reason and Islamic principles prevail to end the conflict and spare Muslim blood to defend our true religion against the enemies of Islam. [passage omitted]

[Al-Nuri] There is no Arab military cooperation. Gulf cooperation has proven successful. Will we see a unified Gulf army one day?

[Al-Sabah] The military decision comes after the political one. The Arab League exists and is headquartered in fraternal Tunisia. I cannot describe Arab military cooperation as nonexistent. I leave the answer to the other part of your question to the specialists in the field. In general, the situation is similar to what it was before the 1973 war. When the war broke out, a political decision was made and it was followed by military cooperation. Kuwait had the honor of participating in that war on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts. Many of its cherished young men fell as martyrs in that conflict.

Gulf cooperation exists and the nucleus of its army is a strike force in Hafr al-Batin. This force, as we know and as our politicians said, it an extension of and support for the Arab force.

[Al-Nuri] Waat is your impression of the "Peninsula Shield" maneuvers? Have they achieved their objective?

[Al-Sabah] I have the honor, in my capacity as one of the commanding officers of the Kuwaiti Army and one of the officers of the GCC armies, to say that the GCC forces showed a high level of skill during the "Peninsula Shield" maneuvers. It also pleases me to say that they have achieved their intended objectives. [passage omitted]

PDRY

Security Minister Warns Against 'Biased Rumors'

EA262126 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Brother Sa'id Salih Salim, member of the Political Bureau and minister of state security, has stressed that the anti-revolutionary forces hostile to our progressive regime are spreading biased rumors. However, he said that they cannot be more dangerous than the sabotage, terrorism, and conspiracies hatched against our regime, party, and masses, who managed to destroy and defeat them. In an interview with the weekly *Dif'a al-Sha'b* published this morning, he said the rumors being spread by malicious forces against our regime are intended to make our people worry. He said these rumors are completely irrelevant to conditions in any area, and that the spread of those rumors would not succeed and would not affect our people.

The minister of state security appealed to the members of the organization of the popular defense committees and our masses not to heed or circulate such allegations. Rather, he asked them to try to establish the motives behind them, the identity of those spreading them, and their source. The minister said these bodies should then put an end to them in coordination with the party organizations and the different government agencies.

He stressed that the biased rumormongers would continue to harbor hatred and bitterness toward our country's revolutionary experiment, but would collapse along with their methods, just as the other hostile methods employed against our regime in the last 20 years collapsed when Democratic Yemen won its national independence.

Further Reportage on Attack on U.S. Diplomats

Sidqi Expresses Regret

NC262113 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2055 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Cairo, 26 May (MENA) — Prime Minister Dr 'Atif Sidqi has expressed regret over today's attack on an automobile carrying three members of the staff of the U.S. Embassy in Cairo. Dr Sidqi added that the government is taking measures to provide additional security and protection for foreigners in Cairo. He stressed that the security forces will do their best to locate the culprits as soon as possible, noting this incident will in no way affect the atmosphere of stability and security in Egypt.

'Abd al-Majid Calls U.S. Envoy

NC261320 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1308 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Cairo, 26 May (MENA) — Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, has expressed his regret over the incident involving members of the U.S. Embassy staff this morning, in which they received superficial wounds. In a telephone call to U.S. Ambassador in Cairo Frank Wisner, 'Abd al-Majid asked the ambassador to convey his regret to Secretary of State George Shultz. 'Abd al-Majid asserted that the Interior Ministry is doing everything possible to apprehend the culprits.

Officials Identify Weapon

NC261507 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1435 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Cairo, 26 May (MENA) — Initial reports compiled by experts from the Interior Ministry's criminal laboratory regarding the attack on a U.S. Embassy vehicle indicate that the weapon used was a 7.62-caliber machinegun. The types of bullets used and found at the scene are being checked.

A team of criminal laboratory experts headed by laboratory director Major General 'Adil Baha' al-Din under the supervision of Maj Gen 'Izz al-Din Sabir, official in charge of the Criminal Department, went to the scene of the shooting where they conducted a comprehensive survey of the site and all the clues left in the vehicle. The team includes experts in arms and biological analysis.

Meanwhile, the two injured Americans gave a description of the culprits similar to that of the individuals behind the attack on the Israeli attache in Al-Ma'adi, as well as the assault on the Israeli pavilion at the Cairo International Fair.

In their pursuit of the perpetrators, security men stopped two green Peugeots, believing that one might have been used in the attack. However, a subsequent investigation proved that neither vehicle nor their occupants were involved and they were released.

Weapons Equipped With Silencers

NC261652 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 26 May 87

[Excerpts] A group calling itself Egypt's Revolution has claimed responsibility for the shots fired at a U.S. diplomatic vehicle today while it was heading from Cairo's southern Al-Ma'adi suburb to the U.S. Embassy in central Cairo. [passage omitted]

Eyewitnesses have said the automobile used by the assailants, whose weapons were equipped with silencers, scratched the U.S. diplomatic vehicle in four places.

Mubarak Forbids Comment on Sudan Pact Abrogation

PM270737 Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 24 May 87 p 1, 11

[Ayman Nur report: "Unofficial Sudanese Statements on Cancelation of Joint Defense Pact With Egypt"]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry has begun studying unofficial statements by some Sudanese officials revealing Sudan's inclination to abrogate the joint defense pact with Egypt. The Foreign Ministry had sought an explanation of the Sudanese Government's stand on these remarks immediately after they were made, but received no reply. Early this month the Foreign Ministry dispatched Husayn Mushrafiyah, Egypt's former ambassador to Sudan, on an unofficial mission to find out the views of the Sudanese parties on the abrogation of the pact and the official attitude toward recent statements confirming Sudan's intention to cancel it. The former ambassador ended his visit to Sudan last week and prepared a detailed report on the views of every political party and bloc in Sudan on the subject. He asserted in his report that there is no clear official stand by the Sudanese Government. He submitted his findings to Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, who passed them along to President Mubarak without delay. The president declined to comment on the report or discuss it as long as nothing official has been received from the Sudanese Government on the abrogation of the pact. President Mubarak instructed Dr 'Abd al-Majid not to comment on the matter.

Mubarak Denounces Report on 'Secret' Organization

JN261739 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 25 May 87 p 1

[Text] President Husni Mubarak has denounced the report published in an opposition newspaper on the existence of a secret organization within the Armed Forces. He described the story as baseless. The president said that publishing such fabricated news can impinge on stability and, consequently, hinder development. He said the standards of responsibility and party discipline must be promoted.

4,000 Reportedly Arrested Since Abu Basha Shooting

NC250753 Beirut Voice of National Resistance in Arabic 0500 GMT 25 May 87

[Text] Egyptian lawyers in Cairo have revealed that approximately 4,000 people have been arrested in Egypt following the

recent assassination attempt against former Interior Minister Hasan Abu Basha. The lawyers condemned these arrests at a conference called in support of six of their colleagues who have been detained by the Egyptian security forces as part of a random arrest campaign.

Meanwhile, the Egyptian Press Association's Liberties Committee is backing a sit-in, which was launched by some 30 lawyers 6 days ago to demand that all detainees be released. The committee called on all lawyers to join this move and urged other professional unions to adopt a similar stand in support of the detainees.

1,000 Sudanese Riot in Aswan Over Transport

JN221813 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1730 GMT 22 May 87

[Text] Aswan, Egypt, 22 May (SUNA) — The Egyptian authorities have arrested 28 Sudanese nationals, mostly students, in Aswan, southern Egypt, following a clash with police. The Sudanese citizens were on their way to Sudan to spend the 'Id al-Fitr holiday. The police charged the Sudanese with illegal assembly and attacking and destroying buildings. Some 1,000 Sudanese roamed the streets of Aswan, destroying buildings and cutting telephone lines in protest at the lack of space aboard vessels bound for Sudan.

Reports say the police used tear gas to disperse the Sudanese. One Sudanese citizen and a number of Egyptian policemen were injured and taken to the hospital.

Arab Summit Agenda To Include Ties With Cairo

PM261459 Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 19 May 87 p 1

[Article by 'Abd al-Nabi 'Abd al-Sattar: "The Next Arab Summit Will Cancel the Freezing of Egypt's Membership"]

[Text] *Al-Wafd* has learned from high-level diplomatic sources that Kuwait, the UAE, Jordan, Morocco, and Sudan have now adopted the idea of getting Egypt back into the Arab fold. These states are expected to include several points affecting Egypt on the agenda of the next Arab summit, which will be held in September in the Saudi city of Al-Ta'if. These issues include an end to the freeze on Egypt's membership in the Arab League and the restoration of full diplomatic relations between Egypt and all Arab states. This idea has been supported by more than 10 Arab countries. *Al-Wafd* has also learned that during consultations conducted recently with some Arab officials, Egypt's political leaders advanced a condition of their own, namely, that the Arab states announce their cancellation of all resolutions adopted by the 1979 Baghdad summit. Following the announcement of the summit resolutions, the Arab states declared that they were breaking diplomatic relations with Egypt in protest at the conclusion of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. *Al-Wafd* has discovered that some Arab countries are now seeking to persuade Syria, Libya, and the PDRY to agree to the inclusion of the issue of restoring diplomatic relations between Egypt and the Arab states on the conference agenda. The agenda is also expected to include a discussion on forming an Arab peace mission at the presidential level to mediate between Iraq and Iran. They will try to persuade the two countries to end the Gulf war, define an Arab formula to get the Middle East peace process moving again, and hold an international conference next year to confront U.S.-Israeli attempts to secure direct bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Arab parties concerned with the Palestinian problem.

'Large Shipments' of Weapons to Iraq Reported

JN232012 Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 22 May 87 p 1

[Text] Cairo — Large shipments of Egyptian weapons have been sent to Iraq via the port of Al-'Adabiyah in Suez. *Al-Ra'y al-'Amm* has learned that, to avoid any problems, security aboard the vessels carrying the arms was tight until they reached ports in Iraq. A number of large trucks are also transporting certain types of weapons through Jordan.

It is known that the Egyptian leadership responds to all Iraqi requests for arms needed at the front.

Uranium Ore Discovered in Eastern Desert

NC261102 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0920 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Cairo, 26 May (MENA) — Electricity and Energy Minister Eng Mahir Abazah has announced that the geological team working in the Jabal Qattar area in the eastern desert has made an important discovery of uranium ore in an area 40 km from the city of Al-Ghurdaqah.

Dr Husayn 'Abd al-Muhsin, chairman of the Nuclear Materials Authority, said the new discovery proves the presence of uranium in the granite rocks at two sites in the mountains and that preliminary tests indicate huge reserves. He added that Egyptian experts are carrying out technical tests at the authority's laboratories to extract the uranium from the granite and prepare the yellow cake which is the primary material that goes through various stages in preparing the nuclear fuel needed to operate reactors to generate electricity.

The Ministry of Electricity and Energy is currently reviewing bids from U.S., French, and German companies to build Egypt's first nuclear power plant.

Communique No 2,689 on 25-26 May War Operations

JN261717 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic
1700 GMT 26 May 87

[Communique No 2,689 issued by the Armed Forces General Command on 26 May 1987]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Our combat ability grows stronger each day thanks to the faith and morale of our men and the requirements of victory over the enemies of our nation and people presented by our enlightened leaders. Through their daily combat activities, our Armed Forces show their overwhelming superiority over Iran's clique of evil and crime. The following is a roundup of operations conducted last night and today:

1. Our daring helicopter gunships carried out 38 combat sorties against enemy units today in all the operational areas, killing enemy scoundrels and damaging enemy positions and weapons. Our aircraft then returned safely to base in God's care and protection.

2. Two 30-man enemy patrols attempted to approach one of our forward positions in the I Army Corps northern sector. Our forces pounded the enemy patrols with all types of weapons, killing and wounding many of the enemy soldiers and forcing the others to flee. In other parts of the same sector, an enemy soldier was killed, three infantry positions were destroyed, and an ammunition dump was demolished.

3. Through continuous blows from tanks and artillery, our units in the III Army Corps sector east of Al-Basrah bombarded enemy positions before them, causing additional losses on top of the following confirmed figures: One 106-mm gun destroyed and its crew killed; a shovel [preceding word in English] destroyed; two ammunition dumps demolished; and several infantry positions destroyed, with those manning them either killed or wounded.

4. In the II Army Corps central sector, one of our units pounded a 10-man enemy group, killing or wounding several of its members. A 106-mm gun was destroyed in another area.

5. Three enemy personnel were killed and two infantry positions were destroyed in the VII Army Corps sector.

6. One vehicle and a 106-mm gun were destroyed in the IV Army Corps sector east of Maysan.

7. To free themselves from the charlatans ruling in Iran, several Iranian soldiers sought refuge with our forward units. They were safely escorted to the rear.

[Signed] The Armed Forces General Command, 26 May 1987

Iranian Claims of Al-Sulaymaniyah Fighting Denied

JN261625 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1613 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Baghdad, 26 May (INA) — An Iraqi military spokesman has denied Iranian claims that a battle was fought in some border areas in the northern Iraqi region of Al-Sulaymaniyah. In a statement to INA a short while ago, the Iraqi spokesman said this is one in a series of lies spread by the Iranian regime these days to cover up its losses and justify its insistence on continuing its policy of war and aggression.

Kurds Reportedly Kill Education Ministry Official

NC270808 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 22 May 87 p 3

[Text] Hakkari, (HNA) — Sporadic clashes are continuing between government forces and Kurdish separatists in northern Iraq. The Kurds have reportedly killed an under secretary, his deputy, and the deputy's son in an attack on their car as they were driving through the town of Zakhu.

The clandestine Voice of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, which broadcasts from northern Iraq, said that at 2000 local time 2 days ago, the peshmergas launched an assault on Zakhu, killing Ceher Bishar, [name as published] under secretary at the Iraqi National Education Ministry, and his deputy, Muhammad Ahmad Rashid, as well as Rashid's son, who was traveling with his father.

The station also claimed that the peshmergas struck a number of military installations in the Kirkuk and Al-Amadiyah regions, killing 17 Iraqi soldiers, including 4 officers, and seizing a large quantity of arms.

Palestinian Group Renews Threat to Italy

NC240600 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0515 GMT 24 May 87

[Text] For the second time in 48 hours, the clandestine Eagles for the Liberation of Palestine Organization has threatened to strike Italian interests around the world and launch a suicide attack on the Italian Embassy in Beirut if Italy does not provide it with information regarding the fate of its leader, Colonel Ghandurah. The group accused the Italian authorities of detaining Ghandurah in Rome for 9 months.

An unidentified person claiming to speak for the organization contacted a Western news agency in Nicosia, demanding that Italy clarify the fate of Ghandurah and his wife. The caller said: If there is no response to our demand in the next few days, we will attack Italian interests throughout the world, and Italian citizens in Lebanon in particular. We will mount a suicide attack on the Italian Embassy in Beirut.

Lebanese Forces Demand End to Syrian 'Occupation'

NC261749 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1545 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] The members of the Lebanese Forces Command Council held their weekly meeting under Dr Samir Ja'ja' today. The council discussed recent developments in Lebanon and the region, and later issued the following statement:

1. The Lebanese Forces Command Council has noted that as an opening for liberation from all foreign armies, the abrogation of the Cairo agreement remains incomplete, as it failed to touch on the question of the Syrian occupation forces. In this connection, the Lebanese Forces wish to point out that Palestinian fighters and weapons have, ever since the mid-1960's, been entering Lebanon via Syrian territory and with the support of the Syrian regime. Furthermore, fundamentalist trends have grown stronger under Syria's protection and military presence in Lebanon. Needless to say, the Syrian presence constitutes a link between the Lebanese crisis and that of the Middle East, at the expense of Lebanon and its people. While welcoming the Chamber of Deputies' recent decision to cancel the Cairo agreement, the Lebanese Forces request the chamber to take a similar step regarding the Syrian military presence in Lebanon. The chamber should demonstrate the illegitimacy of this presence and establish Lebanese willpower internationally, so the whole of Lebanon may be freed from all foreign armies and forces. This would be a confirmation of Lebanon's unity, independence, and sovereignty.

2. The Lebanese Forces Command Council has discussed the situation in the south. It noted that the struggle there is being stepped up day-by-day. This once again confirms the fact that all the region's crises — including the Arab-Persian struggle in the Gulf, the Arab-Israeli struggle, the Islamic-Israeli struggle, and the Palestinian-Israeli struggle — are being fought out on the land of the south. This is destabilizing for the south and harmful to all Lebanese. The Lebanese Forces are following events in the south with concern, and they reiterate their demand that the Lebanese Army be deployed there. The UN forces should cooperate in this, in preparation for their deployment along the Lebanese borders as part of a comprehensive solution that will ensure the withdrawal of all armies and alien forces from Lebanon. This measure will also mark the first step toward resolving the ongoing crisis among the Lebanese.

3. The Lebanese Forces believe hesitation and procrastination regarding the acceptance of the prime minister's resignation have brought the country to a state of political stagnation and internal erosion. This has had a negative impact on social and economic conditions. The current situation, in the absence of governmental authority, has begun to seriously hurt the internal situation and had led to a loss of Lebanon's credibility abroad. This makes us believe we have once again entered a dark tunnel with no light at the end.

Therefore, the Lebanese Forces renew their demand for an immediate settlement of the government issue. The prime minister's resignation must be accepted, and the formation of a new government must be undertaken at once, a new government capable of gaining the confidence of the Lebanese, performing its task, and saving the people from the suffocating social and economic crisis.

Dany Sham'un Interviewed on Government Crisis

PM261301 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 13-19 May 87 p 11

[Interview with National Liberal Party leader Dany Sham'un by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [*Al-Majallah*] What is Lebanon's future under the current circumstances?

[Sham'un] Lebanon's future, as we see it, will be partition unless foreign armies withdraw from Lebanon. There will be three parts: The present eastern sector, the southern sector along the Lebanese border with Israel, and the remaining part, which Syria now controls.

[*Al-Majallah*] You talk as if you attribute Lebanon's crisis to the presence of these armies alone.

[Sham'un] Yes. Had it not been for the presence of these armies, there would be no problems in Lebanon. Legitimacy would have been restored, and we Lebanese could have managed to resolve our differences.

[*Al-Majallah*] In all your statements you tend to oppose the Syrian presence in Lebanon. Do you believe they are there to stay?

[Sham'un] Yes, it seems they will remain, as no one opposes them.

[*Al-Majallah*] Will the eastern sector hold out in the long run?

[Sham'un] Resistance is our only option and we will hold out to the end.

[*Al-Majallah*] What solutions are being sought to end the Lebanese crisis?

[Sham'un] Politically, we need an agreement among the Lebanese to return to their legitimate institutions and carry out reforms. But other reforms that are being discussed are mere idle talk, namely increasing the number of deputies, extending the term of the Chamber of Deputies speaker, and giving more power to the prime minister.

[*Al-Majallah*] What concessions can the Christians offer?

[Sham'un] The question is not one of concessions. We agree to whatever the Chamber of Deputies and the other legitimate institutions agree to. Can you imagine that the election of the president for a 4-year term caused a war that has claimed 400,000 lives and forced 600,000 to emigrate?

[*Al-Majallah*] So in your opinion the war was not for reform?

[Sham'un] No, it was certainly not. The question was not one of reform. The question was one of imposing hegemony over Lebanon.

[*Al-Majallah*] What is your view of the contents of the plan reached by the five leaders in Damascus, which has been mentioned by some newspapers?

[Sham'un] This is a five-party company, not a five-sided plan. Instead of the Chamber of Deputies speaker and the prime minister consulting Syrian officials, it would have been more appropriate for them, as they represent two legitimate authorities in the country, to discuss all projected reforms within the Council of Ministers. Hence matters would have progressed in a correct and constitutional way. Where is freedom and democracy when the Chamber of Deputies speaker is elected for a 4-year term? Is it not preferable to conduct an exercise in democracy every year? I do not see any encroachment on the prime minister's powers if he is designated by the president after parliamentary consultations. They say that the president can replace one prime minister with another, but in fact, the opposite is true: The president steps down at the end of his term while the prime minister is allowed to remain in office indefinitely. We know of many prime ministers who were in power far longer than presidents.

[*Al-Majallah*] It is being said that the Syrian entry into the western sector [of Beirut] has in fact caused confusion in the east.

[Sham'un] I do not see any confusion.

[*Al-Majallah*] You are running for the presidency in 1988. Will you continue to run for office?

[Sham'un] Yes.

[*Al-Majallah*] Even under the Syrian presence?

[Sham'un] (No answer.)

[*Al-Majallah*] Do you believe there will be changes between now and 1988?

[Sham'un] The situation in Lebanon can be changed and is developing on both the political and security levels.

[*Al-Majallah*] Assuming that President al-Jumayyil has accepted some points of reform requested by the other side, what would your position toward him be?

[Sham'un] We will oppose all points that are not in line with our inclinations. We will not go back on our convictions, and we will abort every accord, just as we aborted the "tripartite agreement," if we are not satisfied with it, even if the president accepts it.

[*Al-Majallah*] Are you in touch with Minister Walid Junblatt?

[Sham'un] All the time. I like Walid, may God grant him good health.

New Appointments in Amal Movement Reported

JN261523 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic
25 May 87 pp 3, 8

[Text] Beirut — *Al-Ittihad* — Sources close to Minister Nabih Birri, chief of the Amal Movement, have announced that the new appointments in the movement approved on Thursday at the joint meeting of the organizational and political bureaus will be announced after 'Id al-Fitr and will not be affected by objections, especially those raised by military official 'Aql Hamiyah.

Informed sources told *Al-Ittihad* that the shakeup brought in men totally loyal to Birri and removed others with dual loyalties to the movement and the pro-Iranian Hizballah group.

A source close to Birri said the new appointments in Beirut and its southern suburb will be followed by others in the Al-Biqa' area of eastern Lebanon. The source disclosed that the new leadership in Beirut and its suburb is as follows: Abu Ja'far Nasrallah, organizational official; 'Ali 'Allush, political official; Hasan Sharaf, military official; 'Ali Fawwaz, official in charge of trade unions; and 'Ali Khalil, official in charge of education and instruction.

The source explained that the post of information officer may be given to Dr Hamid Ayyub, director general of the Ministry of Information, or to Minister Birri himself.

A source close to Hamiyah revealed to *Al-Ittihad* that the new appointments excluded Sayf Ba'labakk, the military official in charge of one of the axes in the southern suburb of Al-Shiyyah, and that 'Ali Nurani, Husayn Malak, and Muhammad Jabawi have been discharged.

On the basis of the new appointments, the number of officials in the Beirut area and its suburb has been reduced by about a third, as five areas have been incorporated under the responsibility of one person. These areas are Al-Shiyyah, Al-Awza'i, Bi'r al-'Abd, Bi'r Hasan, and Sabra-Shatila. The extra officials will be distributed among other offices and cells without officers.

The Amal Movement began making a number of changes in its leadership shortly after the Syrian forces' entry into Beirut on 22

February following the bloody battles between the movement and the Communist Party and a number of parties allied to it.

Meanwhile, the process of mediation continues to narrow the differences between Birri and Hasan Hashim, former Exceutive Committee chairman, who was expelled from the movement after leading a rebellion on 1 March.

Amal, 'Army Supporters' Said To Arrest 50 People

NC261402 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1345 GMT 26 May 87

[Excerpts] Socialist sources have been cited as saying that the Amal Movement and the so-called Army Supporters stormed buildings in the town of Ansar at dawn today, arresting more than 50 people. [passage omitted]

According to the socialist sources, similar actions have been staged in Al-Nabatiyah, Kafr al-Rumman, and Tyre.

'Resistance' Attacks Israeli, Lahd Forces in South

NC270657 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 0430 GMT 27 May 87

[Text] According to security reports from the south, the villages of Kafr Milki and Jba', as well as the areas around them, came under artillery, rocket, and intensive machinegun fire from snipers between 1900 and 1945 yesterday. The fire came from hills overlooking the two villages, and caused only material damage.

Information released by Lahd's militia said it has decided to implement certain measures in Jazzin, including the imposition of a curfew as of 2200.

Meanwhile, resistance fighters are countering the Israeli practices with more attacks. During the past 36 hours, resistance men carried out four assaults on the occupation forces and agent Lahd's militia in the areas of Jazzin, Jabal Basil, the Bra'shit Hills, and Yatar Hill. The occupation forces have found explosive devices in the areas of Bint Jubayl and Ibl al-Saqy. They also stormed the towns of Balat and Hula.

In addition, resistance men attacked an agent Lahd militia patrol on the outskirts of Jazzin 2 nights ago, surprising the patrol with hand grenades and machinegun fire. They also fired a rocket at one of the patrol's armored cars. A 20-minute clash ensued between the attackers and the patrol members, in which the armored car was damaged and its crew members wounded. The radio run by Agent Lahd's militia admitted the operation, stating that the patrol was ambushed in the Jazzin area and that the attackers managed to withdraw from the region.

TISHRIN Says Attackers of U.S. Diplomats 'Heroes'

JN270539 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0435 GMT 27 May 87

[From the press review]

[Text] Under the headline "The True Identity," the newspaper *Tishrin* writes: Once again the fraternal people of Egypt have emphasized the depth of their genuineness and their identification with their Arab nation and Arab history. They have voiced their categorical rejection of attempts to tame and subjugate them to transient policies throughout their glorious history.

Yesterday's action, which was carried out by the heroes of Arab Egypt against the U.S. presence, has large and profound implications and meanings on both the international and diplomatic levels on one hand, and the domestic Egyptian scene on the other. The incident in itself is only an extension of the Egyptian people's revolt against the capitulatory regime that opened Egypt's doors and land to everyone and mortgaged its future to world imperialism, capitalist Western states, and monopolist companies so these could move freely in it and play havoc with its destiny, resources, and wealth.

It is also a true expression of the honorable Egyptian people's grudge against those who act as helpers and partners of the Arab nation's enemy by assisting it in continuing its aggression against this nation and consecrating its occupation of Arab territories.

The Egyptian people are still looking forward to the day when they can liberate Tabah from Zionist occupation. This is a small part of Egyptian territory which the Camp David regime could not restore in agreements, talks, meetings, and normalization of relations, but left it for international arbitration.

Concluding, *Tishrin* says: The Egyptian people are part of their Arab nation. Their history is part of this nation's history and their struggle is part of its struggle against imperialist, colonialist, and Zionist forces. Their revolution will not abate before the regime is uprooted, its pillars are blown up, its legacy is eliminated, and Egypt is returned to its nation free and liberated from every shackle so it can assume its pioneering role in its nation's liberation struggle.

Al-Asad Receives Gorbachev Message From Envoy

JN261332 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1245 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Damascus, 26 May (SANA) — President Hafiz al-Asad received a written message today from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev dealing with bilateral relations and international issues of mutual interest. Roving Soviet Ambassador Mikhail Sytenko delivered the message when President al-Asad received him at noon today.

President al-Asad asked him to convey a reply to Soviet leader Gorbachev.

Al-Asad Comments on Islamic Values, Terrorism

JN261823 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1515 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] President Hafiz al-Asad has stated that the campaign of terrorism waged by the imperialist West against us is larger than it seems at first. He said: I have spoken on more than one occasion and at more than one conference about how important it is to differentiate between terrorism and the requirements of legitimate defense that the people must carry out when attacked. President Hafiz al-Asad said: They want to show that there is no difference between a crime that is committed by one or many criminals and the sacred struggle that upholds a mission. The action of liberating the peoples, lands, and homelands falls within the framework of the sacred struggle that upholds a mission.

His excellency also stressed the need to abide by our great Islamic religion. He said: In the past years of our lives we sensed the importance of abidance by Islam's values and teachings. This was contained in a speech President Hafiz al-Asad delivered at the request of the Muslim ulema who expressed the desire to listen to what he had to say at the 'Iftar dinner his excellency hosted last night, which was attended by religious men and the directors of awqaf in the various Syrian governorates.

President al-Asad began his speech by thanking all those who spoke and expressed the hope that he will always fulfill the people's aspirations and desires. He said: It is only natural that I try to achieve this since I am one of these people.

Touching on the occasion, President al-Asad said: It is very pleasant for us to meet every year during the holy month of Ramadan, and this meeting has become a tradition during which we exchange views and talk in a fraternal, cordial, and familial atmosphere. He said: When I listen to what you have to tell me at such meetings, I want to become acquainted with the people's sentiments, which I may not be aware of and to feel what you feel. I can say that this meeting is one of the many positive factors that this holy month brings us, a month which has been blessed by God because many good things happened in it. The major event that took place during this month was the revelation of the *Koran* to the people to guide them and inspire them. As we live the last 2 days of this holy month, I believe that we have become convinced that we now emerge from this holy month more determined and resolute and that we have undergone an experience during this holy month that has enhanced our will, knowledge, and pride and has made us more determined to succeed in carrying out all the teachings of our great religion.

The first thing that comes to my mind which I want to emphasize to you is something that is taken for granted. It is beneficial sometimes to emphasize self-evident facts. I would like here to forcefully urge you to further abide by our great Islam. All through our lives we have sensed the importance of abiding by Islam and by its teachings. The days have entrenched and developed our convictions that we must abide more and more by the values of Islam and its teachings.

In this specific stage of our history and every day of this stage we experience things that make us become more convinced of the need to entrench our faith in Islam and to abide by it. The

difficulties we are experiencing with the colonialist and imperialist forces in this world and a close and mature study of these confrontations show that they are closely linked to historical roots in the distant past. There are confrontations and challenges which cannot be explained otherwise and for which we cannot find truepolitical or economic explanations. However, we find that this past is being revived from time to time and we find that they fear it on occasion. When this happens we find ourselves facing only one option, which fortunately is our intrinsic option. We find ourselves facing this option, that of clinging to this past and to this history. When we read our history we only find good deeds, pride, dignity, justice, and civilization. With the help of Islam and guided by it we have succeeded in conveying to the world the greatest mission and the most splendid civilization.

President al-Asad said: We know that some Muslims have hurt Islam. Others have distorted it, and some have forged it intentionally or unintentionally. The question is one of Islam and some Muslims. However, this does not detract from our faith in Islam. On the contrary, it entrenches our faith.

The president added: Everyone in our homeland, even children in this country, are watching this rabid campaign of the imperialist West led by the United States and its latest protege, Britain. As I said before, they plot and when they fail in one way they look for others. They continue to invent new methods of plotting. They plotted against us in Lebanon, they plotted against us in an economic siege, and they plotted against us through the Muslim Brotherhood. They failed in all their plots and finally they came up with the idea of terrorism.

Their campaign of terror was wider and deeper than can be seen at first glance. At more than one conference and on more than one occasion, I spoke about the importance of differentiating between terrorism and the requirements of legitimate defense to which peoples of the world should resort when they are exposed to terrorism. They want to completely erase the line dividing the crime committed by a criminal or a number of criminals from the sacred struggle for a mission. It is from within the framework of this sacred struggle for a mission that the process of liberating peoples, territories, and homelands comes. If we agree with them, then we will have to renounce our Arab and Islamic history on the divine and worldly levels because as Arabs and Muslims, we preached the most glorious mission in the four corners of the world. And when we preached this mission, we employed everything that God allowed us to employ to spread our mission. The Americans and Zionists want to describe this endeavor, which we exerted for our benefit, for the benefit of the world, as terrorism.

When we became divided at one point in history as Arabs and Muslims and when our countries were colonized, we also struggled to liberate our countries. I think many of us, especially the young people, awoke to find the French colonialists in our land. Very few homes in our country escaped the colonialists' death and destruction. Our people carried out their duties each according to his own resources and methods. Our people killed many of the colonialists. Is this not a religious, patriotic duty? In the eyes of the Americans, the Europeans, and the Zionists, this is a condemnable terrorist act. They want us to condemn this act. In Lebanon, there are great heroes who are facing the enemy with their bare chests. In the eyes of the Americans and the Israelis, these are terrorists. Does religion and patriotism not permit confrontation of the occupying enemy?

They want us to live without values but life cannot be lived without values. Anyone who accepts this does not love his homeland and does not sacrifice for its sake. Anyone who accepts this does not love his religion or sacrifice for its sake. They want to rob us of all our histoicl values so they will not be exposed to any danger, as some of them say, either today or in the distant future. I said as some of them say because from our standpoint what we have done and what we are doing is not dangerous.

It is regrettable that most of the Islamic and Arab countries are not paying attention, are not aware of, or alert to the dangers of this issue, so much so that we are easily accepting all the terms we receive from the West. You must have noticed that during the fifth Islamic summit I touched lightly on some issues I could have discussed in greater detail but the time alotted to the conference could not accommodate everything we wanted to say. On the word terrorism, I said: We should not fall into the snares of the United States and be taken in by its concepts of terrorism, as the most dangerous folly we might commit is to agree to denounce terrorism without explanation. We know what they mean by terrorism. Here I say that if terrorism meant crimes we would condemn and denounce it. In this case, we do not contradict ourselves. We would remain sincere to our mission, to our religion, and to our people, as well as to all the peoples who fight for freedom.

The president rejected the huge, concentrated campaign launched against Syria regading the issue of terrorism. This campaign was launched under the pretext of the London airport incident, which was fabricated and prearranged. He reiterated that Syria had nothing to do with this incident. He said: British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who expressed her eagerness to save the lives of the Jews she feared would be lost in the alleged incident, should have atoned for the sins of her people, who killed the Jews in Britain in the Middle Ages. They killed Jews in Britain and other European countries while the Arabs in Spain protected the Jews there, as the Muslim Arabs did not persecute the followers of other religions. After the Arabs left Spain, the Jews were killed on a large scale.

If the Westerners, including the Americans, the majority of whom are of European stock, want to take vengeance on us for the sake of the Jews, they should take vengeance on themselves, as they killed Jews over the centuries. But I say they just want to take vengeance on us, and this has nothing to do with terrorism. If terrorism is the reason for their campaign against Syria, why did Britain and its allies not take the same position on Israeli acts of terrorism in Britain? These acts are not disputed. Israel did not deny them.

The president gave as an example the kidnapping of a former Nigerian minister from Britain in a trunk at the hands of Israeli intelligence men. The scandal was exposed when the contents of the trunk were discovered at the London airport. He also gave another example by referring to the kidnapping of the Israeli nuclear technician Vanunu in Britain, who was abducted by Israeli intelligence. He is now being tried in Israel. This is in

addition to many Israeli attempts on the lives of ranking British officials and ministers. Yet Britain did not ask Europe to stand by it or raise a hue and cry, or take embargo measures, send fleets, or rattle sabers. Therefore, the issue has nothing to do with terrorism as a crime. It is intended to force us to our knees and compel us to give up our land, abandon our causes, and renounce our role in the world, our humanitarian role, and our Islam and its values. The grand alliance, which extends from Europe to America, is carrying out such large-scale acts. In view of this, we feel we are facing greater challenges, which make us sense the importance of our strong adherence to our great past.

The president asked: Do we surrender, do these big powers frighten us? Should they frighten us? They will not; they should not. When we triumphed in the past we were weaker and fewer in number, but we must also say we had more faith.

The president spoke about the situation in the region, reiterating what he said at the Islamic summit in Kuwait: Syria supports Arab solidarity to the greatest extent based on all bilateral and multilateral agreements.

Concluding his speech, the president said: You, respected ulema, have a great role to play. In sermons we must assert the values we have reiterated in the past. We must stress the importance of martyrdom in the same way Islam reiterates it. We must give it its place as given by Islam. We must also stress love and the need to shoulder our duties, which are many. We must stress the importance of love for the homeland and sacrifices for its sake. We must say that performance of our daily tasks qualifies us for greater ones and for martyrdom. Dealing with problems requires preparation and patience. We should know that if we are strong we will be proud of our strength and will benefit our country, the Arabs, and Islam. We must emphasize martyrdom. We must be proud and we should not fear our enemies or hesitate to confront them. We should reject the concepts our enemies are trying to force on us.

The president asked the respected ulema to convey his greetings to the other ulema throughout Syria and to the public at large. He wished them and the people success and a good life.

A number of ulema made speeches referring to the values and lessons of the holy month of Ramadan. They called for adherence to the goals, morals, values, and teachings of the Islamic faith. They called for invoking Koranic teachings in fighting the enemies of Arabism and Islam, in defending the country, in standing by the spirit of martyrdom, and in paying homage to the martyrs. Speakers praised the president's leadership, wisdom, and morals and valued his sponsorship of Islamic science and scientists. They hailed his proud stand in the face of the enemies of the Arabs and Muslims. They applauded his loyalty to the banner of Arabism and Islam and his wise and courageous leadership of the nation's battle against its enemies.

'Anger' Reported in Armed Forces After Executions

NC261634 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1545 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] The Paris-based Arabic magazine *Al-Tali'ah* has revealed that there is a great deal of anger in the Syrian Air Force following the execution of 40 pilots and the arrest of 40 more on charges of planning a coup attempt at a base near Damascus recently. The fate of the arrested pilots is not yet known.

The magazine adds that other branches of the Syrian Armed Forces are also angered by these events. It notes that Air Force units have been transferred to other places. In addition, the Air Force commander, 'Ali Husayn, has been transferred to administrative duties along with a number of his men.

Inner Cabinet Accepts Rotenstreich-Tzur Report
TA270439 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English
0400 GMT 27 May 87

[Text] The government is to meet in special session this morning to debate the Rotenstreich-Tzur report on the Jonathan Pollard spy case. The 10-man Inner Cabinet discussed the report last night and decided that, as the committee's findings lay responsibility collectively on the government, the full Cabinet should be asked to approve the document. More details in this report from Steve Weizman:

[Begin recording] [Weizman] In a session lasting until well after midnight, members of the Inner Cabinet discussed the Rotenstreich report, which blames the politicians as a whole for the events surrounding the Pollard operation. Finally, Cabinet Secretary Elyaqim Rubinstein read this statement to the waiting journalists:

[Rubinstein] The [Inner] Cabinet decided: 1) to publish the statement prepared for publication by the investigation commission; 2) to recommend to the government to be convened tomorrow to adopt the recommendations of the investigation commission. Thank you very much.

[Weizman] The document itself — or at least the part of it made public — criticizes former intelligence chief Rafi Eytan for not reporting to ministers on the activities of his Scientific Liaison Bureau [SLB] which recruited Pollard to spy for Israel in the United States. It also said Eytan's later appointment, after the Pollard affair came to light, as head of Israel Chemical Industries showed inadequate sensitivity. The report also describes as unreasonable the behavior of Pollard's handler, Air Force Colonel Avi'em Sela'.

Ultimately, the investigating committee decided that the buck stops at the government level and, although satisfied that neither Moshe Arens nor Yitzhaq Rabin as ministers of defense knew of the Pollard project until it became public, it says they bear responsibility for the activity of their subordinates and failed to carry out periodic checks and reassessments necessary to keep the SLB under control. It also blamed the present and former prime ministers — Shamir, Rabin, and Peres — for not responding properly when the affair came to light. The three acting as one, the report says, took insufficient steps to discover all the facts, with the result that following the decision to cooperate with Washington in investigating the case, incomplete information was passed to the United States, resulting in the loss of credibility for Israel.

All this was accepted by the three, who said they would advise the full Cabinet to do likewise. Peres, who was prime minister when Pollard was uncovered by U.S. agents, said he took full responsibility for his actions, which he regarded as having been correct. He made it clear that he regarded the Rotenstreich investigation as the only meaningful probe into the affair. The Knesset subcommittee of Abba Eban, he said, was rendered invalid by its political nature. Yitzhaq Rabin echoed Peres' comments:

[Rabin] I believe it is a political committee, and political considerations were in their mind. This is my simple answer to whatever they said.

[Weizman] The report is to be presented to the full Cabinet in a little over an hour from now. As during the Inner Cabinet meeting, there are likely to be arguments between ministers, but it is generally expected that despite that the government will follow the Inner Cabinet recommendations and adopt the Rotenstreich report. [end recording]

Full Cabinet Approval
TA270855 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew
0830 GMT 27 May 87

[Text] The Cabinet decided to accept last night's Inner Cabinet recommendation to adopt the Rotenstreich-Tzur report on the Pollard affair. This decision was reached against the opposition of Ministers Levi, Moda'i, and Ya'aqobi, and with the abstention of four ministers. We will now hear Cabinet Secretary Elyaqim Rubinstein read the Cabinet decision:

[Begin recording] [Rubinstein] The Cabinet met in the framework of the ministerial committee on security affairs to discuss the fact-finding committee's report on the Pollard case, and decided to approve last night's Inner Cabinet decision.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is the meaning of this decision, Mr Rubinstein?

[Rubinstein] As is known, last night the Inner Cabinet decided to recommend that the Cabinet adopt the fact-finding committee's recommendations, and the decision means that the Cabinet approved this recommendation.

[Correspondent] Why were the ministers not permitted to read the actual report?

[Rubinstein] As far as I know, the ministers may read the report.

[Correspondent] But some of the Cabinet ministers bear responsibility without even knowing what the final report states.

[Rubinstein] I do not think that the Cabinet decision should be interpreted in such a manner. I think that the decision, which was reached by a large majority, reflects the general understanding of the ministers, who supported it. This is the Cabinet decision as it stands.

[Correspondent] Mr Rubinstein, why was it not stated simply that the Cabinet approves the Rotenstreich report and bears responsibility for the Pollard affair?

[Rubinstein] I think that what was stated is self-explanatory — that is, in view of the fact that the Inner Cabinet recommended that the Cabinet adopt the conclusions and that these conclusions have been made public, the meaning of the decision is clear. [end recording]

The Cabinet ministers were not permitted to read the classified portion of the report, but it was agreed that following the Cabinet meeting the report would be placed in the Cabinet Secretariat, and only there will the ministers be permitted to read the classified part.

Eban Reports Committee Findings to Knesset
TA262200 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew
1946 GMT 26 May 87

[Statement by Knesset Member Abba Eban upon the publication of the Eban Committee findings into the Pollard affair, at the Knesset — live, broadcast in progress]

[Text] ...of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. By the way, I am not surprised that you prefer the somewhat pretentious name I use, the Eban Committee, when the alternative is using the full name of this subcommittee. Deputy Chairman Knesset Member [MK] Mikha Harish, MK David Magen, and MK Ehud Olmert, together with me represent here the majority of the subcommittee. I want to respond to questions, but I will try to review briefly the contents of the report, which we concluded today following 10 weeks of ongoing efforts. During these 2 and 1/2 months, we have accumulated thousands of pages and hundreds of hours of work, and it is impossible for all this work to be reflected in the slim report we are presenting to you.

The first comment is that this report is an open report. Behind it there is a secret report in which there is a great amount of knowledge and information about the operation of the intelligence systems. I hope that within a week or two we will complete the preparation of the secret report. However, it will be presented only for the perusal of the heads of the intelligence and security services, and also to the three ministers who control these systems. I will limit my remarks to the contents and meaning of the open report, which is published today.

First a note on this phenomenon. This is actually the first time that a parliamentary subcommittee has taken upon itself the initiative to examine, clarify and sum up an issue that is under internal controversy and has far-reaching external ramifications. Let me tell you frankly that there were many who doubted — on the basis of the structure of the Israeli system — whether MK's could free themselves from certain links — partisan and political — in order to make decisions while ignoring to a certain extent that they are under subordinate. I have never ignored the weight of these apprehensions. I think, however, that we see here the ability to rise above and free oneself from the kind of subordination which, from the nature of things, might have prevented the fulfillment of the roles of criticism and supervision by MK's in Israel. Second, we have reached a unified report. It is true that there were several reservations and suggestions to add certain information. In certain places there were even differences of opinion, and this is clearly reflected in these pages. However, on the great majority of issues, six MK's who are in Israel — naturally I wish success and a long life to our colleague Dr Burg, whose travels from Frankfurt to Budapest, Zurich, Madrid, Buenos Aires, and San Paulo I have followed with interest — took upon ourselves this job. Also, we did not need to decide upon issues on the basis of one vote.

I want to open with the finding I believe to be the central one, especially, perhaps, in the eyes of the viewers, listeners, and readers abroad. Let met read this clause: We have investigated the basic issue of whether the political echelon did not know, and following a most thorough investigation and even every effort to find information that might contradict the assumption — after all, the importance and fatefulness of this announcement is clear in terms of our international relations and the public image of Israel — here are our conclusions. All the evidence brought to the committee by all the witnesses concerned with the matter indeed confirm beyond any doubt the conclusion that the operational levels -- that is, the Science Liaison Bureau [SLB] headed by Rafi Eytan — decided on the recruitment and handling of Pollard without any checking, consultations, or receiving authority directly or indirectly from the political echelon. In my opinion this announcement, that the political echelon did not know about this operation, directly or indirectly, is the basis for understanding all the other clauses.

Nevertheless we should move to a clause which balances the impression of this announcement. Here we have for the first time, by the way, an independent institution which came in contact with various elements who supposedly had an interest in proving that the political echelon knew about this matter, because if this were the case, they — the state employees — would have been freed from all suspicions. I believe and hope that this finding will receive publicity. However, does this mean that this was a so-called unauthorized operation, what is known in English as a rogue operation [last two words in English]? The committee states unequivocally that this was not a rogue operation. Despite the fact that those who carry the political responsibility did not know and did not give permission — their permission was not even asked for — nevertheless those who headed this operation were not ordinary citizens; they were state employees who are subject to the Israeli administration, or to be more precise, to the defense establishment. They made all the arrangements, they did all the traveling, and they held all the contacts and debriefings. They used the state funds at their disposal. These people carried the operation under the command of Rafi Eytan, and this means that even though the deciding political echelon was not cognizant of the affair, nevertheless Israel cannot shake off the responsibility. We therefore recommend that Israel announce the following:

I will read the clause: Despite the lack of any ministerial knowledge or approval for the operation, the government would be wise to state unequivocally that the State of Israel admits its responsibility and will continue to act to correct the damages, because some of its employees were involved in this operation.

It is true that this is only a recommendation, but in another clause of the report we express regret that such a reaction...[changes thought] This should have been, to the committee's mind, the immediate reaction to the crisis after it became clear that Pollard was being operated. However, it is not too late, and this is our recommendation.

The word responsibility is the significant word here. Perhaps the lack of this word in Israel's initial reaction, when it was still in a

state of shock, perhaps the absence of this word unnecessarily exacerbated the tension.

Now we come to the person who took it upon himself to conduct this operation. The committee takes a grave view of Rafi Eytan, while noting his achievements and contribution to Israel's security, without any attempt to erase the glory of his past operations. With all this in mind, we state that in this case there was an enormous deviation from all authority. We have here a spectacle of a state employee, without the permission of the minister above him or any other echelon, who conducts this operation, travels internationally, and manages and finances this complicated operation to the point of entangling his country in a grave crisis involving the focal point of its foreign relations. In another place in the report the committee expresses its regret that, during a very sensitive and delicate stage of our dialogue with the United States, Eytan's position was not taken into consideration, to put it mildly. We express regret that nobody had the courage to punish him after his responsibility was uncovered. However, we are not making any recommendations at this point.

Another prominent figure in this drama is Colonel Avi'em Sela' — again, an Israeli hero, given his contribution to our aviation systems. However, despite our acknowledgement of those virtues, we express regret for the very fact that an Air Force officer was involved in an area remote from his area of expertise or the field with which he was acquainted. We regret that he himself failed to do enough to cut himself off from this irregular arena where, much as one may be brilliant in one area, his lack of brilliance and resourcefulness in a totally different area stands out. A brave and brilliant pilot, commander, and fighter he may be, yet he is no success story — indeed, why should he be a success story? — in this arena of intelligence. So we were displeased with his performance in this sphere and were likewise unhappy that he was sent out on several missions for which — he must be duly credited — he sought and obtained permission. Here we express the hope that those whose permission he needed to have — mainly the commander of the Air Force and the chief of staff — will in the future, in principle, refuse to allow military officers to be involved in this area. We applaud Defense Minister Rabin's announcement that he has already reached this conclusion, and we welcome his announcement that in the future IDF officers from all the branches will not be allowed to become involved in activities outside the IDF's purview — unless, of course, they obtain clear license not from military commanders but from the defense minister. That is to say, here we saw very vigorous, unauthorized activity by civil servants, two of whom I mentioned. I must unfortunately be consistent and state that the kind of supervisory mechanism that would have been called for from the Defense Ministry, particularly from its then director general, did not function and no supervision was carried out. Supervisory bodies did exist, as did committees, but they were not active. Had they operated, one could safely assume that these control committees would have enlightened the Defense Ministry directorate and the minister himself about the existence of activity that should have been seen as irregular. Again, that activity did take place free of any supervision, follow-up, or control, with nobody telling people what to do or giving them directions as to where they were heading, or what their chief missions should be.

Now we finally get to two questions. In view of our certainty that the operation was carried out by civil servants, what does this mean in terms of the responsibility of ministers, Cabinet members? According to the prevailing doctrine in Israel, as formulated by, among others, the honorable Justice Agranat in 1973, ignorance cannot be taken as an excuse to relieve the political echelon of its responsibility for operations carried out without its knowledge. The logic behind this is that the minister must establish a climate or atmosphere, by way of directives as well as standing orders, that make it clear to all his subordinates that they must report to the political echelon and the minister himself and never assume that they have license to carry out such missions, undertake excessive initiative, or be presumptuous in evaluating the range of permissible initiative. Besides, even in the absence of written directives, common sense would have required that a person dealing in sensitive and delicate matters refrain from engaging in them without consulting with the minister. In other words, there exists a certain stratum comprising extremely talented — occasionally even most brilliant — civil servants who believe that the political echelon should not be bothered, and they thereby assume too much. We hope that the criticism leveled here at this phenomenon will be acknowledged by the entire administrative system in Israel; hence the central complaint about ministers, particularly the two defense ministers who served during the time that Pollard was active.

Actually, the chief complaint is that, their ignorance notwithstanding, they should have implemented supervisory control and follow-up procedures and evinced greater curiosity, asking from time to time what this or that person was doing — particularly when confronted with a man like Rafi Eytan who is resourceful and very brilliant. A minister should assume that it is precisely brilliant, resourceful people who could be a risk, thereby justifying extra alertness, as less shining people might be less capable of putting themselves and others in jeopardy by going overboard in such a fashion. Thus, first of all with regard to Defense Minister Arens, during whose term Pollard began to be active under the guidance of Rafi Eytan, and later Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, who for 15 months allowed this phenomenon of Pollard to continue without his knowledge, the committee states that, had they implemented the appropriate and adequate supervisory means as well as a measure of nagging curiosity, it would have been possible for them to know. This is stated with reference to Minister Rabin and the activation of Pollard. Certainly had he known, he would no doubt have taken the necessary action regarding the operation, the rule being that the members of the political echelon occasionally stated in their appearances before us: Certainly if I had known, I would have stopped this; I would have put an end to it. Therefore, the lack of knowledge was really one of the reasons for the complication. We consequently noted that ministerial responsibility applies to Minister Arens with respect to his term, and to Minister Rabin with respect to his term.

I must say that parliamentary responsibility, of course, means that the responsibility actually filters upward and ends in fact at the top. Incidentally, however, this does not necessarily require any conclusion to be drawn; and whether or not conclusions are drawn, this no doubt does not depend on our committee and is

not something that is done automatically. It depends on the people themselves, the Knesset, and the political system.

I will therefore preempt you and would like to answer a question you have as yet had no time to ask because I have not let you do so, a question which has nonetheless been so frequently raised: A rather strange atmosphere prevailed in Israel as regards the work of the subcommittee. I have seen a collection of caricatures and for 1 week I had the honor of featuring in the image of an executioner operating the guillotine. The next day I was shown standing by the gallows. This morning someone portrayed me side by side with a kind of weapon that catapults rocks and shatters things, implying that the investigation of the committee is almost an act of war, knocking people over. This has no justification whatsoever, and this is not the kind of power either a parliamentary or any other committee has. In one article we emphasized in no uncertain terms that our committee is not a legal committee and consequently cannot set legal procedures or norms in motion. It therefore has no intention of passing personal judgment on any person, be he a civil servant or a member of the political echelon; furthermore, it is devoid of the power to do so. We do not determine the fates of people. This is not our job and we are unauthorized to do so. I am afraid that I have just caused many of the other caricaturists, who granted this notion of a fact-finding committee [va'adat bediqa] a certain macabre aura, some disappointment. Only the Knesset can deal with such things, and I have never heard in the annals of any nation that a subcommittee, respectable though it may be, can make or break governments.

[Replying to an interjection by an unidenfied speaker, who says: That may not be a bad idea!] I must have tempted my colleague here to express himself. No, under no circumstances. This is a totally different issue.

The last article I will address regards the period that followed the exposure and arrest of Pollard. Here, of course, the period of lack of knowledge ended and the political echelon started acting. Here we experienced an internal dispute in the committee, which I assume was also reflected in the country as a whole: My colleagues and I actually saw fit to praise the activity of the political echelon at the initial stage of this period, as the basic resolution was first of all to rehabilitate relations with the United States and reach an understanding with it. This was the backdrop for U.S. missions in Israel and contacts between the three senior ministers with U.S. Secretary of State Mr Shultz on all levels, followed by commitments to cooperate, pull back missiles, call to account [last three words in English] all those involved, and dismantle the unit that included some people involved in this issue. My colleagues and I think that this activity was not only positive, but almost crowned with success, and that relations of faith and trust were truly reestablished. For months it seemed as though the tension had evaporated, until the fire rekindled. But this is not to say that the initial action was unsuccessful. So why did it ignite once more? Because an error was committed that actually weakened Israel's credibility, particularly as Colonel Sela' was never called to account and there was even talk about promoting him in rank and in position. Those of us who visited the United States could see how this rather unimpressive match sparked off a fire of great excitement.

There were other phenomena, which are outlined in the report, that caused U.S. anger, which seemed to have subsided, then rekindled. There were several tactical and operational mishaps. In public speeches the impression was created that Israel did not regard the U.S. issue too seriously. We obviously paid for these mistakes. We note, however, that at the end of the process basic relations with the United States have not been harmed and we are on the path of recovery. However, we noted the mistakes. One of them, as I have said, was the promotion of Sela'. There were others: the fact that Rafi Eytan's operation was not investigated, and as a result of this Israeli representatives gave strange testimonies, stemming from a lack of knowledge. And what do we have to say about the issue of responsibility here? Since the three ministers have announced that they consider themselves a team and that there is great solidarity, we say this — and people say that perhaps there is something new here — we do not speak about parliamentary [preceding word in English] responsibility for the mistakes; we speak about parliamentary responsibility for the decisions that were made. However, this responsibility of the three ministers is for the good decisions as well as for those that did not succeed. We are saying that the three ministers as a team are responsible for these decisions, the positive decisions as well as those that did not succeed. However, on the basis of the workings of the Inner Cabinet, we are saying that, despite this being a very tight triumvirate, there is nevertheless a concept of first among equals, and someone who serves as prime minister carries more responsibility and authority for decisions, both good and bad. I believe that I have expressed what my colleagues and myself think about the central issues. At this point I am available for your questions. I also hope that some of my colleagues will participate. [IDF Radio ends live coverage]

Peres Interviewed on Committee Reports

TA270624 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew
0515 GMT 27 May 87

[Telephone interview with Shim'on Peres, vice prime minister and foreign minister, by Mikha Friedman and Ilana Dayan — live]

[Text] [Friedman] Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres, good morning to you.

[Peres] Good morning.

[Friedman] The Eban committee's statement that the prime minister is first among equals and thus has greater parliamentary responsibility in fact lays most of the burden of responsibility on your shoulders.

[Peres] Responsibility for what?

[Friedman] For an act or blunder concerning the Pollard affair. Are you prepared to bear this responsibility?

[Peres] Just a moment, sir. You did not read the report.

[Friedman] Yes, so perhaps you could correct us.

[Peres] It lays responsibility on me as first among equals only after the Pollard affair broke.

[Friedman] And you are prepared to bear this responsibility?

[Peres] Definitely.

[Dayan] When you say that you are prepared to bear responsibility — and you said the same several minutes after the Eban report was released — what substance do you attribute to this responsibility?

[Peres] To be a proper vice prime minister. I do not think that Ehud Olmert and Eliyahu Ben-Elisar understand how to handle the United States better than I do. They may think so, and I may think differently. I bear greater responsibility, but they do not have greater wisdom. In this case, we are all more or less equal. I think I acted correctly. I assume the responsibility, and I have no need to apologize. Of course, I have my own question: Let us say that I am the first among equals; are the other equals not equal? In this instance, there was an explicit partisan approach but I have no need — neither personal nor parliamentary — to shirk one iota of my responsibility. I am convinced now, too, that I acted correctly and with political wisdom, and in my opinion I rescued the country from an extremely grave and difficult situation. It would of course be incorrect to say that this was very pleasant. I also have another question to put to the parliamentary committee: They were, after all, party to all these decisions at the time. They are not the public audit committee. Why did they not raise their voices against this policy at the time?

[Dayan] Did they know all the details, Mr Peres?

[Peres] I think they did.

[Friedman] Mr Peres, yesterday you said you are prepared to accept the recommendations of the Rotenstreich-Tzur committee which determined that the entire government bears collective responsibility. There are people who do not understand exactly how it is possible that the transportation and religious affairs ministers can be responsible to the same degree as the defense minister and the prime minister. This calls for an explanation.

[Peres] Everyone bears collective responsibility in a parliamentary regime. This is nothing new.

[Friedman] But for this there was no need to set up a committee.

[Peres] When something happens in the agricultural sector, the entire government also bears responsibility. The committee could have found that one individual bears more specific responsibility, but it did not do this.

[Dayan] Mr Peres, do you believe that the responsibility as assigned by both the Rotenstreich and Eban committees will satisfy the Americans, for whom, after all, the committees were also established?

[Peres] I do not think that we have to satisfy the Americans. I think that we must satisfy the truth. I only hope that the media will be precise in what was said. Here, you started off the morning by saying that I am more responsible for the Pollard affair than others. This is completely untrue and was not stated by either of the two committees.

[Friedman] Then we apologize for that and retract it.

[Peres] That is very good of you, but you must ensure that your remarks are accurate in the future, because not only ministers but also journalists and Knesset members must be very precise in such matters.

[Friedman] We have no argument with that.

[Peres] Alright.

[Friedman] With the release of the reports by the two committees, do you consider the affair over?

[Peres] Yes, I think so. There is much malicious joy, of course, and the matter will certainly continue to reverberate somewhat. A severe blunder occurred; the committee asks how this mishap could have happened — both committees say this. As for myself, I repeat: I bear the entire responsibility; I am not apologizing, and I have no regrets. I think that the three Likud committee members were biased when they said that I did not tell the truth. How do they know what the truth was? How do they know what I knew?

[Dayan] The three Alignment members said in response that you said what you knew at the time as had been reported to you.

[Peres] Correct. I said what I knew at the time. How does Ben-Elisar know what I knew or did not know?

[Dayan] And in retrospect, did it become clear to you that what you knew was not the truth?

[Peres] Not only did it become clear to me but to everyone, including the committee. They mention this; they say that several people were not very accurate.

[Dayan] Do you know who was not accurate in reporting to you?

[Peres] I know exactly who was not accurate; I definitely know who it was.

[Friedman] Mr Peres, let us perhaps address one point which appears to us a matter of principle. The more moderate or let us say balanced report by the Rotenstreich-Tzur committee also mentions the word blunder, which is collectively attributed to the entire government. Is it comfortable living with this feeling?

[Peres] Of course not. But look, there are areas, in the field of communications for example, in which blunders occur. Blunders certainly occur in places, but there are also tremendous achievements I would like everything to be perfect. I am not so sure that perfection is evident in any sphere of life.

[Friedman] And should politicians be judged by the public, as Rotenstreich and Tzur claim, in the event of a blunder?

[Peres] Not unless they violated the law. I do not perceive any violation in this case. Say Messrs Ben-Elisar, David Magen, and Ehud Olmert believe the Americans should not have been given what was conveyed to them — that is their right. Incidentally, Mr Shamir thought as I did; Rabin thought the same; and the Inner Cabinet approved this.

[Dayan] You are referring to the return of the documents?

[Peres] Yes. When did they become so clever? Just because they call themselves a committee?

[Dayan] Mr Peres, in trying to summarize the last few hours and the committees' reports and what you said, mainly about the Eban committee, do you perhaps think that this committee's findings will ultimately cause damage?

[Peres] I am not in the habit of handing out grades. I noticed that, according to the media, there was a dispute within the committee up until the last moment. I have no idea what happened in the committee. Incidentally, here is another story: The Likud members came out and said: We were not pressured. During this entire period, I did not exchange one word with Eban, for good or bad, on this matter. Thus, I do not need to hand out grades. This is a parliamentary committee that will submit its conclusions. I have not changed my opinion. I behaved correctly and, in my opinion, wisely and courageously. I assume that the three Likud members have a great deal of wisdom, but they are also influenced by additional considerations. That is all.

[Dayan] Mr Peres, we thank you very much.

[Peres] All the best.

USSR Said To Agree on Two Conference Conditions

TA270418 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0400 GMT 27 May 87

[Text] The Soviet Union accepts the principle that an international conference would not impose its will on Israel and its neighbors and that the negotiations would be conducted in a bilateral framework. This emerged from contacts at the United Nations between Israeli and Soviet representatives. Our correspondent in Washington reports that the Soviets made it clear that they regard 1987 as the target date for the convening of the conference. The Soviet Union does not consider it essential that the negotiations also deal with a Palestinian state, but it insists on the participation of a PLO representation in the talks.

LIBYA

Al-Qadhdhafi Chairs Meeting on Domestic Issues

LD241654 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic 2125 GMT 23 May 87

[Meeting with members of the General People's Committee, secretaries of the People's Committee on Municipalities, and the Secretariat of the General People's Congress chaired by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi; date, place not given — recorded]

[Text] [Al-Qadhdhafi] I have some remarks I want to address to you [words indistinct] the General People's Congress Secretariat. Perhaps this calls for discussion by the people's congresses at a convenient time; if these remarks deserve to be endorsed, they will be endorsed by the people's congresses. Some of them are new and others old. (?Why have the old ones not been implemented?) What happened to our comments on freedom of education? [Words indistinct] General People's Committee and the General People's Congress. What have you done? [passage indistinct]

[Al-Muntasir, secretary of the General People's Committee] What have you done?

[Unidentified speaker] [Passage indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [Passage indistinct] What happened to what we said on 7 April [passage indistinct].

[Unidentified speaker] In fact these were not practical measures, but were meant to formulate practical ideas that go beyond the issue of education to the issue of the structure of the society in general. It is a question of [word indistinct] of all sectors in general. If we say that the Jamahiri society is a socialist-production society, there will be no justification for the existence of wage earners in all sectors, not only the education sector. There will be no justification for the existence of wages in society. If we have freed ourselves from the shackles of exploitation, how is that some sectors are still enslaved by wages? Thus, we must formulate ideas in all sectors, not just the education sector. The integrated ideas will be formulated and submitted to the people's general [words indistinct].

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [Passage indistinct]

[Unidentified speaker] We are waiting to see what the people's committees for education will do. They have had broad guidelines sent to them, and we are waiting for a plan from them. To affirm these and for them to become an order to be implemented, the people's congresses must endorse them.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Do you have meetings together?

[Unidentified speaker] We have not been meeting, but we are planning to meet in a short time. A [word indistinct] meeting between the General People's Committee and the General People's Congress Secretariat. We hold two or three meetings a year.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Have you two not met since 7 April [word indistinct] the General People's Committee and the General People's Congress Secretariat.

[Unidentified speaker] No, we have not had an official meeting.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [Passage indistinct]

[Unidentified speaker] [Passage indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] First of all, has the General People's Committee not met since 7 April?

[Unidentified speaker] The General People's Committee has not met since 7 April.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] What about the General People's Committee for Education?

[Unidentified speaker] The General People's Committee for Education has not met.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Then why has the committee been set up?

[Unidentified speaker] The meetings were previously set on certain dates, and the next meeting will be in [word indistinct].

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Who set up the committee?

[Unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct] the committee is a technical one made up of experts in education.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Therefore, the people's committee has to meet and then order the General People's Committee [as heard] to get the General People's Committee for Education to meet. The General People's Congress then orders the establishment of a technical committee. How could things be run this way?

[Unidentified speaker] With regard to the General People's Committee [words indistinct] explaining the broad lines of the ideas formed and in light of this, we must set up a committee to study them and submit their proposals to the General People's Committee for Education. Naturally, we look at the issue from two angles. The first is the form which the system would take [words indistinct], and the second is that we have relied on the assumption that this kind of work depends on initiatives; the initiatives of those who are capable [words indistinct].

[Al-Qadhdhafi] That is different from the state of education.

[Unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct] We must propose a system and [words indistinct]. Naturally, the General People's Committee for Education should look at a number of proposals.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [Passage indistinct]

[Unidentified speaker] [Passage indistinct]

[Unidentified speaker] This works according to Rule 9, concerning instruction that seeks to (?train) 5,000 people under the age of 40. The rule is designed to take them out of the civil service sector and into production sectors. There was coordination with

professional and vocational congresses in Tripoli so we could work together with the owners and producers in these plants. Indeed, thousands — we cannot say 5,000 — who were included in the rule were distributed among workplaces and began to work; that is say, they started to train and study in accordance with your directives on the 7 April anniversary. This is going on in the vocational sector and in various types of plants, whether mechanical or electrical. Of course, this is partial and simple explanation, but it is the general structure with regard to education. In our proposal in the working paper put forward to the General People's Committee, one of our suggestions was that one type of permit, called a vocational permit, include teaching schools, training centers, training schools, and the preparation of computer programs, among other things.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I do not agree with this. I believe it is clear that there is nothing [words indistinct]. No one cares about anything. [Words indistinct] these laws which must be implemented. We were forced to set up revolutionary courts to implement these by force; the force of law and the force of the revolution. God willing, you will all know about the revolutionary courts which have been set up in every municipality and every municipal section.

It is clear that laws have been passed, but if someone violates the law there is no one to enforce it. We are forced to set up revolutionary courts to try those who do not abide by the law. The law is there; it was promulgated by people's congresses. The party responsible for implementing the law and ensuring that it is obeyed is not doing its job, an example being the municipal guards who see illegal dealings and do nothing to (?stop them). This is not related to the phenomenon of [word indistinct] from the economic and social aspects, but this is prohibited legally. If someone opens a shop on a street, no one is likely to ask him why he is opening the shop or even where his license to do so is. This, however, is the responsibility of the municipal guards.

Therefore, we are forced to set up a revolutionary court to try the municipal guards and the municipal people's committee who do not respect the laws promulgated by the people. We are forced to set up revolutionary courts — these have already been established — to start investigating those who do not implement the law. To me, laws and the people's interests are sacred. Those who fail to honor them will be referred to a revolutionary court. Revolutionary courts will continue until a people's court is set up. A proposal was submitted to the last session of the people's congresses but was postponed for 1 or 2 years. Until a people's court is established, all these matters will be referred to it. Revolutionary courts will exercise these powers in its behalf on a revolutionary basis. Society as a whole is based on revolution, and, consequently, revolutionary courts have revolutionary legality. We shall not repeat what you have said about education. What has been decided must be implemented.

Everyone is free to learn in Libya. But there are those who do not want to learn in preparatory and secondary schools. They want to go to a workshop to learn how to paint cars or walls. They have to find a workshop, and the person in charge of the workshop will make a workshop available to them.

We will not repeat what was said on the subject on 7 April, 7 April, [Al-Qadhdhafi repeats date] but every one of you, whether an individual or a committee, can expect to be summoned to a revolutionary court in any part of the Jamahiriyah at any time for dereliction of the duties entrusted to you by the people.

It was understood that the next academic year would not start until the system we mentioned was ready, and it must be ready. Those who got their preparatory certificate in the year that has just ended will see that in coming years, the available options will be different from those of the past.

The other remark is that the industrial base established in this country after the revolution has begun its demise [ar tahtadir]. We set up heavy and light industries in most industrial fields, but to no avail. They have not satisfied demand, have not progressed, have not mastered their industry, and have not provided goods at low prices. If we are to bring in hard currency, where could we export their products? Revolutionaries went to one of the factories where it seemed that the workers had sold the raw materials and stopped the factory from operating. They sold the raw materials in a partnership; they got money for the partnership in exchange for the factory's raw materials.

This happened in the medical cotton and [words indistinct]. This calls for fundamental changes in a way, but something else from the legal perspective: Law looks at what is obvious: The factory stopped. Why did it stop? Why were the raw materials sold? Those responsible will be referred to a revolutionary court. Perhaps the factory needed spare parts. Why were spare parts not brought in? [Passage indistinct]

Therefore, I (?believe) this country's industry will not progress; it cannot have industry. On the contrary, we expect that in coming period the industrial base we have established will collapse. The quarry in Tripoli was closed down. How could a factory be established? If it has been working for 2 or 5 years years and is not economically viable, why was it established in the first place? The medical goods factory which [passage indistinct] raw materials and the factory was stopped. There is the cement factory that cost millions to satisfy local consumption and exports; our production now does not cover consumption.

For example, an industry that is set up in Libya needs conditions different from those under which industries were established in the past. Let us suppose it is a car factory, a car assembly plant. There are factories in the country — one makes cables, one makes nails, and so on. These are all necessary for a car. A car needs nails, [as heard] ordinary nails. If we have a factory that makes these nails, the car assembly plant should not have to import nails to increase its productivity; we should be able to get the products from our nail factory. Or a wire factory: The wire factory must make wires for cars so that in the future, all car wires will be available here. The thinking is backward. It does not mean you have not graduated; some have graduated after studying car, cement, and electronics manufacturing, but their mentality is still backward. It is of no use. I assure you that this is something to which we should apply ourselves.

I said the revolution begins now, because if the revolution started today all of today's factories would be useless. If the revolution does not correct itself, it must be corrected. The existing industries cannot go on. It is impossible for industry to [word indistinct]

in this country, I am sure. If there are no raw materials, there is no point in setting up an industry and burdening the country [words indistinct] while you sell oil and use the profits to buy raw material from abroad. When you can no longer sell oil, you will not be able to buy raw materials and the factories will stop. All the machinery that costs millions will stand idle. Why should we buy them and then liquidate them? The workers will also have to go.

Furthermore, the Libyan worker is not typical because he is not needy, or anything like that. Well, he has money but it is not exchangeable. Libyan money has no value now. What does it mean when a kilo of meat costs 8 or 10 dinars? It means that money has no value. Why does it not have value? Because there is no production or sweat behind it. This money comes from petroleum. There is no effort in petroleum; foreign companies prospect for it and you sell it. Their is no production behind this money. Perhaps it can be considered inflation.

There is no committed work force in the factories; today there may be 500 workers in a factory, tomorrow 400, the day after 700, and then 200. Why do they come and go? Perhaps a worker drives a taxi and is away from the factory for a week to drive his cab and then comes back. This does not happen in any other country in the world. He says: I have been called in for training. Maybe they have called him in for a day and he goes off for 10 days and gets paid for it. This is a strain on the budget. This should notbe possible. How can you give him money, how can you pay when there is no production? When you stopped their pay, they sold raw materials belonging to factories. We must not deceive ourselves. There is no possibility of setting up industry.

Therefore, this is my idea: A new plan must be laid down that could be submitted to people's congresses. I believe that industry should be divided into three categories: heavy, medium, and light. Luckily, raw materials for heavy industry are available in oil, most importantly for the petrochemical industry. It is possible to add the steel and chemical industries to this, because raw materials are available in our country, such as [words indistinct] and so on.

The chemical, petrochemical, and steel industries will be publicly owned. When we say publicly owned, we must note that in the Jamahiri system there is no government, and as long as there is no government, public ownership is not specified as it is in a state. When we talk about public ownership in Yugoslavia, it means ownership by the Yugoslav Government. When we talk about public ownership in France, it means ownership by the French Government. In the socialist-Marxist system, the so-called public ownership or ownership by the people is ownership by the government, which is expressed by the state and is administered on behalf of or for the benefit of the people. This is like the government monopoly that existed in Libya before the revolution. Things were monopolized and belonged to the government: cigarettes and salt were government monopoly goods.

[Words indistinct] there is a problem about public ownership. Public ownership, which you see before you now, is neglected because there is no government behind it. All these factories are under public ownership, as are the public agricultural projects and public markets. There is public ownership; as long as there is no government to manage them, they belong to the people and they are free. Maybe one goes to drive a taxi and leaves the factory; maybe one will be absent or sell raw materials. There is no government factory whose workers can sell its raw materials, after all, it belongs to the government and they might be sent to prison for life. Can a worker in a government factory anywhere in the world sell the plant's raw materials? He will get a life sentence, even if he sells a handful of raw materials in a factory owned by the government. There is no government here.

Who then are the owners? Ownership is the province of the people; this must be reassessed. Heavy industries will be publicly owned, and as long there is public ownership, the concerned secretariat will represent the Jamahiri society. It will have authority like a government in a country where government exists and owns the factories. These factories, owned by society in the Jamahiri system, will be under the control of the concerned secretariat, which will manage them for the people's benefit. These industries must be based on a cheap foreign labor force and those Libyan workers who meet certain conditions. We will bring cheap workers from all over the world, cheap technical labor who will work for the secretariat responsible for heavy industries. There is no partnership, or anything like it. This must follow the government model that exists in any country of the world: The government owns factories and employs labor.

Medium industries: These have failed the secretariats that have been managing them. Not only under the Jamahiri system, but everywhere in the world, when a government takes on something like this on a large scale, it fails in it. Medium industries cannot be managed by secretariats, yet they are now attached to secretariats — sometimes a heavy industry secretariat, or a light or sometimes general one — and they are failures. The secretariat is therefore not capable of managing these factories. Many factories were established in the Jamahiriyah after the revolution, and, in fact, there is a broad stratum of industry. But the factories are declining and failing now because of the inability of the secretariat concerned to control them. You have not been able to encourage them. You have not made them partnerships and have not madde them government-owned. On the one hand, you are free; manage the people's committee and the people's congress and you are free. On the other hand, there are wage earners in these secretariats.

Consequently, they managed the factory without being partners in it and could not care less if it stopped working. The secret is that the notion of partners was not implemented. No one even tried to implement it. If this notion is implemented — let us suppose we have implemented it with 500 workers in one of our factories. It will be confined to 500 workers, and none of these 500 workers would have the opportunity to earn money from any other source except this factory. There is now an opportunity for them to be partners in this factory, a partner in another factory, and to do an independent job somewhere else — an irregular life and no one to answer to. The secretariat is not in control and, consequently, it would be difficult to manage this kind of industry through the state, if this is the right term to use. This must be collective ownership, not public ownership controlled and managed by a specific secretariat, such as that of heavy industries. This is public ownership belonging to the whole country, but managed by a particular secretariat specified by the people.

For example, they would say that the heavy industries secretariat is to manage heavy industries. The system would bring workers from abroad — fire... those who are absent would be tried and get no pay — to be controlled in this way. As for the medium industries, which every party has failed to manage, they must become collectively owned. What is collective ownership? We talked about this last time. However, it became clear to me, after distributing some revolutionary cadres in these factories who found that workers were not techically competent, and that the workers were not relying on these industries; they could not live off them. [sentence as heard]

Furthermore, there is no serious intention; they are not taking their ownership seriously. If you take 100 workers in a light industry factory and tell them: It belongs to you, they will not be prepared to manage it. They will be prepared to work in it in a lowly manner; they work a few days and then are absent a few days to do an independent job of their own. And, if they feel like it, they will sell the factory's raw materials. There is no seriousness in this.

In collective ownership, we select a number of willing people and give them the ownership of this factory. For example, we will tell 1,000 Libyans that there is a clothing factory, a furniture factory [words indistinct] come and take over their ownership, instead of them being owned by an individual and us working as his slaves, and him taking all the profit. In this case, work and production continue but the profit goes to one person, namely, the owner. Factories owned by individuals work like clockwork, because they are owned by an exploiter with a whip in his hand, who employs, fires, and dispenses with workers as he wishes, and controls their wages. People need him; the factory works perfectly well, and you will find its products on the market. But, regrettably, the factory's profit will go to one exploiter; one person will accumulate all this wealth. The just thing would be for this wealth to go to its owners, to all the people and not to one person. This is where ownership by the people instead of an individual comes in.

Ownership by the people as we have it now, however, does not lead to the desired results; the people do not satisfy their hunger from this industry, nor do they find its goods on the market or see it progress.

Therefore, we must find another solution. We must not go back to exploitation, and we must not let things go on as they are. Collective ownership means that we...[Al-Qadhdhafi changes thought] let us give an example. Take a furniture factory in Jabal al-Akhdar and get 1,000 Libyans and tell them: You take ownership of this factory and repay the capital. This means that the Libyan people will get back...[Al-Qadhdhafi asks now much the cost of such a factory would be, and an unidentified voice says 14 million] We tell you 1,000 Libyans are given a furniture factory in Jabal al-Akhdar, and the people have paid 14 million to build this factory for you. How many years will it take to pay back the 14 million? You, the 1,000 Libyans, will live off this factory.

This is [words indistinct] 1,000 Libyans own a furniture factory in Jabal al-Akhdar and repay the Libyan people 14 million over x number of years, and these 1,000 Libyans and their families live off this factory and [word indistinct] its production. Those 1,000 decide how to run the factory; they appoint a manager and a people's committee, employ workers from home or abroad, make them partners or not, and so on. The people and the committee set up by the people — the people's committee concerned with light or medium industries — will hold accountable the 1,000 people in the operation of this place. They can try it, and once they realize that they can only live off of it, they will manage.

Light industries: There must be partnerships, even in the very very light industries. These will be partnerships of 5, 10, or 20 people together, a family or single persons. We come to the agricultural projects that are public, which we call public; they are also declining because public property is not precisely defined here. It is not government property. In another country when they say public property, they mean government property. Its state must be defined [words indistinct] the public projects would be for export, that is, the Libyan state grows things and exports them to bring in hard currency. We implement a project of growing onions and selling them abroad. This will bring us money with which we buy clothes.

This is one situation; the other situation is to see what the domestic needs from agricultural projects are. These project's produce would be made available in the market so that if a farmer sells these things at a high price, the projects could sell the same things at a cheaper price and let the people progress. Some would say: Oh farmer, these oranges are expensive, I can go to the public project and find things less expensive. So let the farmer reduce his prices, and he would be more competitive.

The third situation is that these agricultural projects would be [words indistinct]. For instance, we would introduce sugar beet farming so that we would not have to import sugar, or tea leaf farming so that we would not import tea, and other crops of this kind — i.e., a very (?developed) agriculture. For this we could implement public projects that would produce tea or sugar beets or, let us say, cotton in Tazarbu.

Their form must be defined in this way. Industries must only be set up if raw materials for them are available in Libya. If the raw materials are available in Libya, then we are forced to make industries for them. Petrochemical industries must be set up because their raw material is oil. As for chemical industries, their raw materials, salts, are available in Libya. Canning of sardines and tuna must to be set up because the raw materials are available in the Libyan sea. Industries for canning fruit and fruit juice should be developed, and fruit should be canned and pressed. Wool must be manufactured in Libya because wool is available. Hide manufacturing must also be set up because skins are available.

As for industries whose raw materials are not available, you might not be able to buy the raw materials for them. This has alreadyhappened; many plants came to a standatill because raw materials were not obtained. Why? They said there was a hard currency crisis or an oil crisis. If raw materials cannot be found continually for an industry, why set up plants for it?

What is more important for us is this: If we decided to import

all the commodities we have no hope of producing by ourselves — because it is cheaper for us to import them from abroad and because they save us money in this way — what are we to do with the money thus saved?

The things for which we should save billions, care about, and strive to ensure success with all the energy we possess are: First, the desalination of seawater. You cannot expect the United States, Britain, or Germany to provide you with a successful process for desalinating seawater. After all, they have no need for it. But we, in the underdeveloped world, sit and wait for what the industrial world will offer us. There are things the industrial world has no need for, and because it does not need them it does not care about them. Consequently, we would get no benefit from these things because the industrially advanced would not provide us a solution for them. Do not expect Europe to show interest in the desalination of the seawater because Europe has abundant rain, rivers, and snow. Hence, it does not need to expend efforts to desalinate seawater.

So, a country like Libya, situated in this region, must exert maximum effort and save the largest amount of money. If we were to stop industries that cost us a great deal of money, and import manufactured goods cheaply instead of manufacturing them ourselves, we would save money which could be used for research in desalinating seawater. If we succeeded in reaching this point, we would be working a miracle: Seawater would be desalinated. With the exception of the Egyptian delta and, to some extent, the coastal strip in the areas of the Atlas and Al-Akhdar Mountains, it is not feasible for humans to live in this region in the future unless we can utilize sea energy, solar energy, or nuclear energy, or the like.

Thus, the second area of concern is energy in all its forms. We must provide funds to attain progress in the field of nuclear energy, or solar energy, or wind power, or any of the kinetic forces.

In addition to seawater and energy in all its forms, the things we should attend to include the sea's wealth. In my opinion, for us to exert efforts in the field of sea wealth is a thousand times better than expending efforts on the electronics industries, in which we may not succeed. We are not an electronically minded people. Furthermore, the electronics industry provides us with luxuries, but luxuries are for people who enjoy stability. To enjoy a stable life, one must have a source of subsistance. This is not available to us.

You might take a television — even one manufactured by you — and then you climb to [word indistinct] and throw it away, because there are no programs for you to watch if you move from one place to another.

You would even have to leave Tripoli if its water became salty. Even without law, coercion, or force, the people would leave Tripoli if its water became salty. You could amass [wealth] in Tripoli, but you would have to drink the salt. Despite what you wanted, you will have to go to a place that television cannot reach. What would happen to the television service? It would become a joke and a luxury, of no value whatsoever to people like us who live in an area between Chad, the Egyptian desert, and the Mauritanian desert.

It is better for us to address ourselves to the wealth of the sea, so that we may enjoy stability and stick to the coast. Thus, it would not become a vacuum coveted by westerners who are preparing to recolonize it anew.

Unfortunately, the fields with potential for success are being neglected. The sea wealth — which should be given priority — is the one that is being neglected.

The other field we must address is that of international trade. A country like Libya — which is a desert and lacks rain, rivers, and any industrial potential, and whose sources of subsistance are limited or will become nil — must make use of the long stretch it occupies on the Mediterranean, which is renowned for trade. We must make use of this and turn it into a commercial area. We must transport Africa's trade across the Mediterranean to Europe, and carry Europe's trade to Africa through our ports.

Had it not been for this factor, the towns in which we live now would not have been established. The Phoenicians came as traders and established the three cities, Tripolis, which means three cities. The Phoenicians...[Al-Qadhdhafi changes thought] the Greeks established the five cities at Jabal al-Akhdar in Cyrenaica. They did so for commercial reasons. Had it not been for trade, these towns would not have been built. Then came the Romans who discovered the towns built by the Phoenicians and Greeks and developed them. We now consider the ancient monuments as Roman.

Then we came and said, this is Tripoli, without actually knowing what the word Tripoli means. Then came our sons, who found the oil and began to sell it, and thus have plenty of money. They did not think: Where shall we get water? When the oil is depleted, what will happen? They did not think about what would bring them water and food. So they began importing marble, glass, and mosaics. Each spent enough money on his own home to build an entire village. This trivial mentality has prevailed.

What brought you to Tripoli in the first place? Tripoli was originally a place of trade; otherwise, there would have been nothing called Tripoli, or Oea, Leptis, or Sabratha. It is a commercial center.

The next field which we must address is that of tourism. Libya must become a country of tourism. This is another source of wealth. Libya must live on tourism, on international trade, on desalination, and on the exploitation of energy in all its forms, as well as moving toward the construction of dams and reservoirs. We have to rely on dams and reservoirs, from the homes to the dams in valleys, instead of the rivers and rain. [sentence as heard] All must save rainwater. Naturally, the most important regions in this regard are the mountains of Jabal al-Akhdar and Jabal al-Gharbi. But even the rain that falls on the coast should not be lost in the soil or in the sea, or through evaporation. To us, the dams and reservoirs are the same as rivers and the snow.

But we are lagging behind in useful and feasible matters. For example, when foreign companies come rushing to make offers to you for anything — say for a circus — you give them the money

and they build you the circus. This is because they make you a tempting offer. But can you eat or drink the circus? You laugh, but actually they are the ones who make a mockery of you. Have they ever done anything with the desalination of seawater, the sea's wealth, or the dams and reservoirs? No. Even when we try to build a dam, they just sit and watch. They do not link it to an irrigation network or to a town so that it can have drinking water. Or the dam collapses, as was the case with the (?Qattara) depression dam; or they just (?sit and watch), as at the dam of (?Al-Minjim), or any other place. The water in the dam evaporated because of a lack of pipes and the lack of an irrigation network. The dam costs millions, and all the pipes cost only one million.

Next comes pastureland. Ours is not a country for farms, but pasturelands; a pastureland for camels and poultry only. Libya is not suitable for sheep or cattle; these only spoil the soil and have no use. It would be better for you to raise poultry. This country could become a world poultry farm. If poultry cannot live in Libya, where else can it live? Poultry live on the simplest of things, so we can easily raise them. We would have tens of millions of poultry and thousands of poultry farms. But this is a field in which we lag behind.

Some have embarked on raising cattle. We should not provide them with water, which we lack. We should not provide technology and veterinary services to something we care nothing about. We should not get involved in these costs — to buy cartons, put milk in them, and then sell them. I believe it would be better to buy milk from abroad. All our lives we have been purchasing milk from abroad cheaply, and this is good. Thus, we save the money we would spend on running projects — such as with cows and other things — projects we are sticking to without thinking, and use it for raising poultry. It is better for us to use it for breeding poultry.

You are spending money on things that are difficult. You say: This instrument is manufactured abroad, but we should manufacture one here. It is easy to go to a company and say: Could you build me an instrument plant? The company would tell you: All right, give us a billion and we will build you the instrument plant. So you go ahead and assemble a plant and bring in foreign workers. But, after some years, I am sure we will find that they are using the plant's tools as supports for tents or cars. This is what is actually happening.

Then you buy video monitors, and you pay millions for them. They bring you monitoring screens, install them in the units for control, and hand them over to you. But after a few months, you find you cannot use them. You ask why. They tell you the company has ground to a halt because it does not have spare parts. Or they tell you the technician we have employed has been late to arrive; he could not obtain a visa. Or that we could not transfer money abroad; the bank has failed to make the transfer, it has no funds. Why do you involve yourselves in such matters as long as they are beyond your capabilities? Use your eyes to control workers; do not use screens. The screens are good for advanced people who possess spare parts and use screens as you use rabbit traps. We produce traps; they produce screens, which are nothing out of the ordinary for them.

Small countries like Libya, Tunisia, and Egypt seek to have an advanced industry. [Words indistinct] either all the Arabs run industry or not at all. Though small countries like Switzerland, Luxembourg, or the Netherlands have been able to run industries, it is because they have the capabilities and the resources — foremost of which is water. Bring us heavy rains and we will be able to run everything and change our programs. But we do not have water even for drinking purposes, let alone water for running industries. Plants need water and raw materials. They have wealth to sell, and they use the money to buy the raw materials they need, if they do not have them already.

But you have neither the resources to sell, in order to get money to buy raw materials, nor do you have raw materials available. You now have oil. When the oil runs out, tell me where you will get the raw materials. Now you sell the oil, which brings you money, and you buy raw materials with the money. You do not have materials, so now you sell the oil and buy the materials. When the oil runs out, you will have neither the oil nor the materials. So the plant will come to a halt and become an ancient monument for people to come and visit.

We, the stagers of the revolution, are responsible for all these things. But now we are rethinking matters. I used to tell you: Do not import anything from abroad; manufacture it locally. We can abolish the pencil industry; it is costing us a great deal of money. If we were to buy a pencil from abroad, it would have been cheaper and would require no effort on our part. The money we spend on the pencil plant could be used to finance a sea wealth industry or tourist industries, which would be better.

We have gone a long way in our process of rethinking. I am sure that every factory will close down in the coming years and all public agricultural projects will be abandoned if we continue as we are. Many plants have closed down for lack of raw materials, or because the bank did not transfer the needed funds. Did you not consider such matters at the outset? We are now reorganizing ourselves and bringing ourselves to task. We do not want to put anyone on trial, for it is we who are responsible.

If we are to continue purchasing what we want without manufacturing it ourselves, and endure all these huge costs, we would have to create a national product that would enable us to import these things. But could this be?

First, as I have already told you, a country like Libya can raise nothing other than camels and poultry. The camel is a huge animal, bigger than a cow. The camel can usually live without food and water. It is a huge animal, and it has both milk and meat. It can be used in place of a car; it can be ridden. Then there are the domesticated animals — rabbits, birds, geese, and pigeons. All these can live in Libya and can be satisfied with the rainfall, which amounts to 200 mm, or even 150 mm. This would be sufficient to produce plants to feed the domesticated animals.

This is part of our wealth that we can export — poultry and camels. We must breed them and export them. The wealth of the sea should also be sufficient for us to export a part of it.

As for public projects, we can turn them toward exports. There are agricultural products that cannot be planted in Europe or in

other countries. So we can plant them. We can, for example, establish a huge project for garlic which we would export abroad. This is more expensive than oil. We can establish a project for oranges and export them abroad. We can establish a project for palm trees and export dates. Europe does not have palm trees. They resort to making sweets because they do not have palm trees or dates. But we, who have dates, have abandoned all that and embarked on producing milk and concluded contracts with Europe for the importation of sweets from Europe.

Tourism is also a wealth. It can bring you money with which you can buy anything you wish. Trade is also a wealth. I do not mean trading in which one Libyan would sell to another and exploit him. Libya should sell to others. Barter trade should begin here, probably from the beginning of June when people will have harvested their crops. Barter will begin then. The one who wants to buy rice will have to give wheat or barley in return. Without this, the Libyans would not pay any attention to their land.

Money will have no value. The Libyan dinar now has no value. There is huge inflation. This is evident from the prices of commodities, any commodities. This means inflation. Why? Because Libyan currency is not backed by production; there is no production. All there is, is oil.

So the people must be forced to turn to their land and produce. Barter is the only way to do so, to use national produce for bringing products from abroad. If you do not have a local product or national product, then you should not expect to get something from abroad for yourself; neither rice, nor sugar, nor tea, nor anything else. If you want anything of this sort, you have to produce. Bring a quantity of wheat and get a quantity of rice in return. But if they bring you rice and you do not havemeat to give, you get nothing. Money is no longer useful.

Bring sheep hides, bring wool, bring camel hides. Bring any national produce. Bring fish from the sea. Thus, you live and let others live. But the monetary system has made people live on the palm of a devil; once he pulls his hand away, people will fly into the air. Barter will begin at the end of this month. Money is no longer useful. Foreign commodities cannot be bought with money.

When we talked about agriculture, I am not sure if I spoke about the Mediterranean plants or not. This is in addition to the palm tree. There are many plants that consume a great deal of water, beyond all reason. We, on the coast, plant Mediterranean plants. But we must plant palm trees in the interior, only palm trees.

Our catastrophe will come from motors, which appear as a blessing but conceal harm within. The motor now makes the farmers happy, by bringing them water to irrigate and to improve their produce so they can sell it. But tomorrow there will be no more water and the palm trees and other trees will dry up and wither, and the peasants will die. The catastrophe is coming, and we can see it before us now. The palm trees have begun to harden. This is the portent of catastrophe; this is the signal of catastrophe. The catastrophe lies in motors. These motors should be classified with other banned materials in the world, such as drugs. The motor owner should be considered as a drug dealer. The motors should be replaced by windmills.

The palm trees must live. They must be planted in areas close to water resources and live on the soil. The roots of the palm trees will extend to the water. But to plant palm trees and then bring water from under the soil to irrigate them is wrong. In the north, we plant Mediterranean plants only. In the hinterland, we plant palm trees.

If the state wants to earn income for its budget, it must not do so at the expense of the citizens' basic needs. Food, housing, transportation, and clothing are all essential commodities, and it is completely prohibited to trade in them. You cannot buy a shirt for 5 and sell it for 10. How can you trade in this manner, whether you are a public store, a merchant, or an individual?

Food provisions are excluded because they are essentials. You are not the ones who founded this theory; it was founded by other people before us. This is because they are vital, so much so that we do all we can to bolster them. Clothing is essential. How can you go about trading in clothing? If you were allowed to buy a shirt from Europe for 5 and sell it here to us for 10, then oil, rice, and similar commodities would be bought by 5 and sold for 20. But what actually happens is the opposite: We buy it for 20 and sell it for 10. You buy the car for 2,000 and then turn around and sell it to the citizens for 10,000. It is illogical to permit trading in such matters. You must sell the car at the price for which you bought it.

As for housing, there can be no trading in building materials. As for televisions, air conditions, fans, paper, pens, etc., you must impose higher taxes and customs duties on them. To impose taxes on clothing, means of transportation, houses, and machines is illogical.

This brings us to the public markets. There were those people about whom we had talked, who opened shops and operated in the way of which we have already spoken; they constituted an inactive, wasted force. But we have brought them back and made them active through the distribution operation. We said a retired person or even a disabled person who cannot operate a telephone exchange — there are some disabled who lost their legs but still can operate a telephone exchange — can all be utilized by our opening of distribution shops for them.

The same applies to women who are idle, too. They can be utilized through the distribution operation. They can open shops and work in the limited activities we have spoken of. All this must start through the public markets. But to whom do these public markets belong?

Let us begin with the public markets. Who is responsible for the public markets? First there is the question of the [ration] cards or booklets. [Words indistinct] do you know what has happened? I have been told that some individuals have four or five cards. Nobody tells them that they have enough commodities or stops them from doing what they are doing. No, in fact these people go and get more cards through neighbors or others. This is not a sign of progress. What is the solution? The solution is that these cards should not be issued by the market authority or secretariat concerned. They should be issued by the authority under which a person is listed. That should be the authority that issues these cards, in which case a person would get only one card, no more.

For example, all members of Agricultural Congress No 1 would get their consumption cards there. I give farmers as an example because a farmer does not come under any particular public authority. A farmer does not move because he is tied to his land and farm. But if he should move to Agricultural Congress No 2, then the previous card number one would be withdrawn and he would be issued with card No 2. The same should apply to employees and others. Everyone should follow one particular authority, even if that authority happens to be the secretariat, in which case the secretariat would issue cards to its own members.

Furthermore, these markets should be organized in such a way as to provide commodities at cost price, without any profiteering as we have said. Commodities would therefore be available on the market at cheap prices. One who is not disciplined would have to go to the shops, not the public markets, for his supplies, and pay higher prices. The public markets should be the cheapest in order to be able to compete and persuade people to turn away from the shops and go to the public markets. When you go to the public market and benefit from it, however, you should demonstrate some ethics and discipline in the manner we have spoken of.

The existing phenomena and their causes are quite another issue. The law must apply. If a person indulges in brokerage then his goods should be confiscated according to the law. The law promulgated by the people should be applied by force. (?You should let the courts decide), but you are lenient. You have your municipalities, police, and courts. A committee that fails should be brought to trial — its secretary, members, and others involved.

How could you allow people to engage in brokerage right before your eyes? How? Let us look at any municipality. How could you allow brokerage? [Words indistinct] a broker should be arrested and asked: Whom do you follow? Where is your card? Where do you live? Where is your social security? Where is your salary and income?

This is a crime. If a beggar is found, the person in question should be arrested. The people's committees concerned should pursue the matter, and everything should appear before the revolutionary court. It does not matter if 1,000 people are sacrificed in order that we can take a step forward in organization and ethics. It is inconceivable for you not to shoulder your duties and responsibilities. If you are told that a certain person is begging, all agencies should act. How could he beg and why? You have the files. This person gets such a salary. The stated penalty is such and such, and so legal measures should be taken against him instead of giving him money.

Begging, brokerage — all this is prohibited. If one says: I am poor and I have nothing to eat, this is another matter. But your duty is to enforce the law. Brokerage is prohibited, and that is what you have to implement, even if there are 1,000 or even a million cases a day. You have the municipalities, the police, the courts, the prosecution, and the law. If a person claims to have a small income and that he is thus forced to become a broker, the court will not listen to that. It will tell him: Shut up. Did you or did you not engage in brokerage? He says: Yes, I did. The law prohibits brokerage and profiteering in this country, and if the penalty under the law is 5 years then he should be imprisoned for 5 years. That is all. Even if everyone ends up in prison, it must be understood that this is an education and experiment. If one goes to prison for a crime, this is education and culture. Who said that prison and execution and such things are not good lessons? They are very useful lessons. Punishment is a part of life. [Koranic quotation]

[Unidentified speaker] [Passage indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Well, you will see when I send you to the revolutionary courts tomorrow. All of you would be gathered and brought before the revolutionary courts: Why was there an instance of brokerage in your municipality when you have a municipal guard, police, committees, and a law at your disposal? What would you have to say?

The formation of revolutionary committees everywhere is coming. They will deal not only with such matters, but with all laws issued by legislation which were not carried out.

[Unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct] revolutionary court.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] There is a law which prohibits eating in the street. It prevents anyone walking in the street from eating bread. We might go to any municipality. If we see a man eating in the street and the police see him and do nothing, and the municipal guard does not say anything to him, this would be a phenomenon recorded in that municipality or constituency. Then we go to the municipal committee, the general municipal committee, the municipal secretary, the municipal guards, and the police and ask them: Does the law not say that such a thing is prohibited? Why did you do nothing about it?

There is now a slackening in the application of the law. Maybe you do not want to enforce the law. Another person might drive in the street without lights. No one comes to tell him anything. Who said that the popular authority was (?a burden)? There must be a popular authority. A worker might be absent from the factory. By overlooking this, you become the enemy of people's power, because you are encouraging the forces opposed to the popular authorities. Workers sell raw materials. Has anyone said: Let the workers sell raw materials. There is a law and there are popular authorities concerned with the sale of raw materials in the factory and the wreaking of havoc with public funds. Such people are enemies of people's power. In general, the revolutionary committees have [words indistinct].

We must abide by the program of only manufacturing what we are capable of, and adopt the program of importation because it is cheaper to import goods. The money we save must be used in the projects I have just spoken about — the desalination of seawater, the production of energy in all its forms, sea wealth, international trade, tourism, and the building of dams and reservoirs, as well as in pasturelands for camel and poultry breeding.

Industry would be confined to things we can manufacture and for which we have the raw materials. If there are industries that should be there, and the age demands that they should be there, I believe they should be embodied in a program in which all the Arab countries throughout the Arab homeland should participate. The Arab homeland may manufacture an airplane, a car,

a ship, or television sets. But a state like us [passage indistinct].

Even education has begun to deteriorate because the lecturer is no longer a lecturer; he is no longer respected. His training is weak; he becomes a wheeler-dealer. Students cheat to pass. The result of all this will become apparent in the future. It is like someone who takes sedatives [words indistinct]. In the future the results will become apparent. Anyone who wants to be a teacher should have a high standard from the very start. He should do well in education courses. The one who achieves the highest marks should become a lecturer; in primary and secondary schools and institutions, those who score the highest marks should become teachers. What is more, a teacher should follow continuous training periods [words indistinct].

A teacher should enjoy comfort. His salary should be provided. In fact, if a teacher is not feeling comfortable he cannot produce. If anyone should be comfortable, it is the teacher before all others. The teacher is the person who educates the people of each generation. He teaches them how to manufacture, how to eat, how to drink, how to read. All these things are taught to us by one person. Someone who cannot find a place to live will have difficulty teachingat a university, school, or institution. Will he be thinking about his lessons or about where he is to live? Will he think about his transport, wondering: Once I finish the lesson, will I be able to catch a bus or not? The bus should be guaranteed; the train should be guaranteed; a private car should be guaranteed; a plane should be guaranteed; a rented car should be guaranteed.

Very well, I have ended my remarks in this respect. I have before me a remark that some winter clothes are being sold in the market during the summer [words indistinct].

This is reportedly because there has been a delay in allocating the funds, and as a result the seasonal clothes did not arrive. They allocate the funds during the summer to purchase winter clothes, and so forth. If we want to buy something, we should buy immediately and allocate funds soon. If we do not want to buy, then we do not buy. But when we say, do not allocate funds for these things, or we should reduce them because they are not essential, we are talking about less important things. If we cannot acquire chairs, or loudspeakers, or telephones until the new year, we can postpone purchasing them and save the money. But we do not intend that people should not acquire clothes, or food, or cars. These are essentials which should by no means be delayed. When we have no money, there is nothing we can do. If there is no money, you must manage somehow.

Does anyone have anything to say? Anything at all? Good, as if there are no remarks, I bid you farewell [words indistinct].

ETHIOPIA

WPE Official Holds Talks With CPSU Delegation

EA232354 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1800 GMT 22 May 87

[Text] Exchanges of experience, with emphasis on WPE-CPSU relations, were the subject of talks held today at the WPE offices between delegations from the two parties. They were led by Comrade Habte Mariam Seyoum, deputy head of the WPE Central Committee's Foreign Relations Department, and Comrade Albert Belyayev, member of the USSR Central Auditing Commission and editor of a cultural newspaper.

In his speech, Comrade Habte Mariam pointed out that through discussions between representatives of the parties, governments, and mass organizations of the two countries, which were intended to bolster their relations, revolutionary Ethiopia had managed to gain some very valuable experience from the USSR. He briefed the delegation on the victories of the broad masses scored by our revolution at various stages in its development.

For his part, Comrade Belyayev said that education and the amassing of experience was a continuous process. The strength of a party built on Marxism-Leninism, he noted, is measured by its popularity among the people. He went on to explain the role of the mass media in raising consciousness, educating and organizing the people, and changing their ideological outlook. This includes the people's implementation of party resolutions.

In an arrival statement in Addis Ababa today, Comrade Albert Belyayev said that during its stay in Ethiopia, his delegation would exchange ideas and experience, focusing on the party's ideological growth and the role of mass media in this field. Comrade Belyayev said that through its talks, his group would come to understand the political, organizational, and ideological work done by the WPE. He added that the trip would also enable the members of the delegation to familiarize themselves with activities in a number of cultural sectors.

KENYA

Official Criticizes Al-Qadhdhafi's 'Propaganda'

EA241734 Nairobi KNA in English 1330 GMT 24 May 87

[Text] Mombasa, 24 May (KNA) — The Mombasa KANU branch has finalized arrangements for a demonstration scheduled for Madaraka Day [1 June] to pledge loyalty to President Moi's government and condemn anti-government elements, Branch Chairman Sharrif Nassir told newsmen today. During a press conference at his Mombasa office, Mr Nassir, who is also an assistant minister for lands and settlement, said the Madaraka Day rally would be the biggest KANU event ever and would be used to display the unity that prevailed among the Mombasa residents. The assistant minister said citizens from different ethnic backgrounds should unite under the banner of KANU in demonstrating against those who engaged in smear campaigns against Kenya.

He lashed out at Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi for taking an anti-Kenya Government stance and said Kenyans would not be divided by cheap propaganda from the likes of Al-Qadhdhafi. Mr Nassir reiterated the government's policy that Mombasa would continue to serve neighboring landlocked states unless those countries themselves were unwilling to use the facilities at the port. The assistant minister told civil servants in Mombasa to spearhead the 1 June procession from the KANU offices at Majengo to the Mombasa Municipal Stadium where wananchi will be addressed by administrative and local leaders. He said the youth should be made to understand the importance of patriotism so they could identify with their country.

Over 30 Kenyans Ordered To Leave Uganda

EA240015 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 23 May 87 p 24

[Text] More than 30 Kenyans have been served with orders to leave Uganda within 14 days from the date each receives the notice. This comes in the wake of souring relations between the two neighboring countries. Among those given the marching orders are businessmen and employees in the government, parastatals and private companies.

The orders were issued by a senior immigration officer on behalf of the commissioner of immigration. Most of them are dated May 21.

They read as follows: Dear Madam/Sir, it has come to my notice that you are living in Uganda illegally. You are, therefore, contravening Section [number illegible] sub-section 5 (A) of the Immigration Control Act of 1969.

You are required to leave Uganda within 14 days from the date of this notice.

Please note that your failure to comply with this notification will lead to serious consequences.

Among those given quit orders are Mr Lawrence Akini Oyile of Tradewings Enterprises, P.O. Box 1655, Kampala. The others include Zedekia Otwara of Lawaam Chemicals and Marketing Services, and Mr Ochieng Obiero of the same company.

TANZANIA

Mozambican Prime Minister Arrives for Visit

EA260124 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1100 GMT 25 May 87

[Summary] The Mozambican prime minister, Dr Machungo, has arrived in Dar es Salaam at the start of a 5-day official visit to the country. Dr Machungo is scheduled to hold talks with his host, Prime Minister Joseph Warioba, later today.

Calls for Greater Aid

EA260945 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 0400 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Dar es Salaam — Ndugu Joseph Warioba, prime minister and first vice president, has emphasized that Tanzania and Mozambique must seek ways of strengthening trade between them and the countries of southern African to revive the economies of those states. Ndugu Warioba was speaking at a banquet he hosted in honor of Mozambican Prime Minister Dr Mario Machungo in Dar es Salaam yesterday. He said existing problems should be discussed and proper solutions sought. Ndugu Warioba also called on trade officials from Tanzania and Mozambique to step up efforts to ensure that trade accords already signed but not yet implemented are given proper consideration.

Turning to the liberation struggle in South Africa, the prime minister said it was important for Tanzania and Mozambique to be united in confronting the fierce and constant attacks of the Boer regime and the MNR rebels, which are designed to destabilize the economies of the southern African states.

In his speech, the Mozambican prime minister said more than 4.5 million Mozambicans need 12 (?billion) shillings worth of relief aid. This situation is the result of South African aggression. He noted that the South African regime's goal is to destroy the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, SADCC. Dr Machungo pointed out that it was the duty of the international community to give greater support to the Frontline States in the liberation of southern Africa, and in their efforts to confront South Africa. He thanked the people of Tanzania and the Chama Cha Mapinduzi for their assistance to Mozambique.

UGANDA

Ministry Criticizes OAU Praise of Former Leaders

EA252047 Kampala Domestic Service in English 1400 GMT 25 May 87

[Text] Uganda has called on the OAU to correct the present situation whereby well-meaning and useful resolutions are passed and only few are implemented, so that the organization can assume a dynamic role that the founding fathers intended it to play. In a statement issued in Kampala today on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the OAU, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the OAU gives due regard to the charter of the UN and Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and yet it had become powerless where ruthless dictators have emerged in the continent.

He noted that there are few nations in the African Continent that have not been victims of such ruthless dictatorial repression as the regimes of Amin, Obote, and Okello's in Uganda. The ministry said the organization must establish a machinery to safeguard the fundamental rights of the people. It was the greatest irony of our times, the statement said, that while Ugandans were suffering and continued to suffer at the hands of Amin, Obote, and Okellos, Africa continued to give these leaders ovation from the OAU fora. Africa, the statement declared, must be serious and resolve to respect, strengthen, and adhere to the noble objectives and principles of the charter. The charter must be observed by one and all, it added.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs said Uganda would also like to call upon the OAU to inscribe in its future agenda the burning issue of refugee problems on the continent.

But the statement commended the OAU for the noble success it has achieved, especially in the field of liberation, in spite of its shortcomings. It is our sincere hope, the statement added, that through the intensification of the armed struggle, our brothers and sisters in southern Africa will soon be free. To this, we are totally committed.

The statement also commended the OAU for its efforts in trying to promote and strengthen cooperation in the social, economic, and cultural fields. Finally, the statement said, Uganda has both faith and confidence in the potential of the OAU, and will bilaterally and collectively cooperate with the OAU in every possible way to enhance unity and solidarity among the African countries.

Cultural Agreement Signed With USSR 26 May

EA262249 Kampala Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] A new cultural agreement between Uganda and the Soviet Union has been signed today in Kampala. The minister of state for foreign affairs, Professor Kabwegyere, signed on behalf of the Uganda Government while the Soviet ambassador to Uganda, Mr Stanislav Semenenko, signed for his country.

Speaking at the signing ceremony, Professor Kabwegyere hailed existing good relations between the two countries and paid tribute to the Soviet Union for its efforts to improve manpower in the country through its offer of scholarships in various fields.

The Soviet ambassador told the minister that the Soviet Union intends to contribute more to the development in Uganda (?in) the urgent areas to be developed.

Earlier, Professor Kabwegyere received in his office the French ambassador to Uganda and the South Korean ambassador to Uganda, where he discussed with the envoys matters of mutual interest between Uganda and their countries.

CAR

Court To Give Verdict in Bokassa Trial 12 June

AB232159 Libreville Africa No 1 in French 1830 GMT 23 May 87

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] According to the new timetable for the Bokassa trial, the court will hear the public prosecutor's charge and the counsel's arguments before handing down its verdict on 12 June. However, this does not mean the end of the charges against the former CAR monarch, as it is said he must appear later before a special tribunal concerning the threat to state security. In fact, the threat to state security charge is the 13th of the 14 accusations contained in the indictment. The Bangui criminal court has chosen not to rule on this case because, constitutionally speaking, it is not competent to do so. It is only after 12 June 1987 that Jean-Bedel Bokassa will appear before a special tribunal, to be set up later, to answer the charge that he was a threat to state security, reportedly in collusion with foreign powers. [passage omitted]

CHAD

Goukouni Oueddei on Reconciliation, Libya

PM221526 Paris LE MONDE in French 21 May 87 p 5

[Interview with GUNT leader Goukouni Oueddei by Frederic Fritscher in Algiers — date not given]

[Text] Algiers — "I will fight to the end for national reconciliation." A solemn Goukouni Oueddei, wearing a long pale blue tunic with a white kaffiyeh on his shoulders, received us in his villa at the Club des Pins, a villa the Algerian Government has placed at his disposal since early February. Referring to his recent African tour, the former GUNT president said he had "requested the help of the countries visited in facilitating reconciliation." "On my return," he added, "I sent a large team to Ndjamena for talks with Hissein Habre. All this work was intended to complete the process of national reconciliation as quickly as possible. Even if we do not succeed, we will have shown to the Chadian and world public that we discharged our responsibilities."

Turning to the GUNT, Goukouni Oueddei said: "It is no longer very representative," as "we have discredited ourselves and it will now be difficult for us to use its name. However, given that many Chadians have left the country because they support the GUNT and are not members of any faction, we want to take everyone along with us under the GUNT's banner. This will ensure that they are neither abandoned nor feel betrayed." "But we will do this simply to hold talks with Ndjamena," he said, before adding, "Once an agreement is signed, we will bury the GUNT."

Although he denied reports that several of his close aides would return to Ndjamena and break with him if an agreement were not reached rapidly, Goukouni Oueddei admitted that negotiations with the legal Ndjamena authorities have run into trouble on several points, notably the (provisional) constitution, the National Union for Independence and Revolution [UNIR] (the sole party), and the Army. "The Constitution that governs the Chadian state is a three-page document signed by Hissein Habre in his capacity as chairman of the Council of the Commander in Chief of the FAN, and was drafted by a limited body," he said. "It contains unacceptable and even anachronistic clauses. We are asking for these provisions to be revised before we can accept it as a fundamental document." Citing Chad's national day as an example, Goukouni Oueddei exclaimed: "People talk of the great victory of 7 June 1982 (Footnote) (Victorious entry of President Hissein Habre's troops into Ndjamena), but we regard this great victory as our great defeat. How could we agree to live under a regime that celebrates our defeat each year?"

Relations With Tripoli [subhead]

Goukouni Oueddei sees the UNIR as a "state party" of such importance that "we cannot return to Ndjamena and remain outside that structure like foreigners in our own land. Nor can we merge with that movement without making major changes to it." Goukouni Oueddei's position is clear: "We must either dissolve the UNIR and create another single party that would group all Chadians or form a second party as a counterpart to the UNIR." He expressed a clear preference for the first proposal, saying he is "opposed to a multiparty system."

Goukouni Oueddei also wants the Army reorganized. Arguing that the Chadian forces' successes in the field are chiefly attributable to the meeting at which it was decided to have his troops join forces with Hissein Habre's FANT [Chadian National Armed Forces], he wants this Army, "which has proved its unity in battle" to be "restructured to serve the Chadian state," without having two classes of soldier — "the privileged and those whose rights are denied."

Goukouni Oueddei was very reticent about his current relations with Libya and merely said: "I have not broken off all contact, and after reconciliation, I will work to improve relations between Ndjamena and Tripoli." He was obviously anxious to be tactful about his former ally, and refused to talk about the last months he spent in Tripoli, and particularly the incident that almost cost him his life. A large number of his supporters are still in Libya.

ZAIRE

Mobutu Speech Marks MPR's 20th Anniversary

AB221735 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1605 GMT 21 May 87

[Address by President Mobutu Sese Seko in Kinshasa on 20 May marking the 20th anniversary of the MPR]

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] MPR Founding Chairman Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko and Citizen Mama Bobi Ladawa arrived at 1630 at the People's Palace, which was already filled with an estimated 500,000 people who come to reaffirm their support for the party leader and their attachment to the options of the Nsele Manifesto on the occasion of the MPR's 20th anniversary.

The leader of the revolution, who then entered the conference hall, received an enthusiastic ovation from the party cadres and delegates who came from the regions to join their brothers and sisters from the capital city. He was greeted by the MPR youth who sang songs to pay tribute to their leader.

Honorable leaders of fraternal and friendly countries and parties, honorable ambassadors, and heads of diplomatic missions, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, fellow citizens, MPR militants: On the day of this anniversary, 20 May 1987, the MPR, our national party, is happy to welcome you to this magnificent People's Hall, which was briefly located in the historic city of Nsele, where the MPR was founded exactly 20 years ago through a document known as the Nsele Manifesto.

For 20 years, from 20 May 1967 to 20 May 1987, the MPR has served as a framework for all our national actions. For 20 years our national party has molded the future of the sons and daughters of Zaire and guided them in their relations with each other and with brotherly and friendly parties. Such a great number of memories; such a great number of events we share in this pursuit of a common goal. Many of us are living witnesses to the noble history of the MPR, which is still unfolding before our eyes. However, other pioneers and other fighters are no longer with us. For all those valiant militants who have left us and who died in the name of the revolution, I invite you to observe a minute's silence to pay them the tribute they deserve.

Fellow citizens, fellow militants, although 20 years are insignificant in the life of a people, 20 years of life for an institution are cause for true pride, an appropriate moment to reflect on the MPR's role in national life.

In fact, on this 20th anniversary, I have no desire to review the numerous and diverse achievements of our state-party. I did that in my speech in this very hall on 5 December 1984, as I took my constitutional oath of office. Therefore, I would like to invite you to ponder our party's impact on the nation-building process.

I am all the more happy as our brothers and friends who accepted our invitation to join us in marking the 20th anniversary of our state-party share a similar thought. [passage omitted]

To all our foreign friends who have come from afar to share the joy of the Zairian people united within the MPR, I bid you welcome once more. May you feel perfectly at home with us. I also greet all militants who have come from the four corners of great Zaire to join their brothers and sisters in Kinshasa. [passage omitted]

That is why, with a natural ease, Zaire has been able to adopt a foreign policy of peace, friendship, and cooperation with all countries without exception or ideological preference. It does so on the basis of the independence and sovereignty of all partners.

The diverse and numerous diplomatic missions in our country, and the number, variety, and quality of delegations attending these celebrations of the MPR's 20th anniversary, attest to Zaire's outstanding diplomacy and the suitability of the MPR ideology that inspired it.

That is how authenticity has led the Zairian people to a judicious adaptation and application of the principle of "Zaire's African mission," that is, to an original way of shaping our actions to the continent's political needs, taking account of our distinguishing historical and geographic traits.

As such, Zaire's African mission is, in fact, our constant hope to establish harmonious relations with all African states, thanks to a policy of cooperation and regional and continental integration. These policies justify our active presence today in the OAU, the Economic Community of Central African States, and the Economic Community of the Countries of the Great Lakes.

Moreover, Zaire's African mission is fortunately made complete by the policy of "good-neighborliness," its fundamental objective being the maintenance of good relations with the nine countries with which its shares borders.

Zaire's motto of "peace and security at the borders," an indispensable condition for regional integration, seems to be well understood, judging from the numerous political assemblies and conferences established with almost all her neighbors.

That is why we cannot avoid being deeply shocked by false accusations, supported by a campaign of denigration and systematic lies against our country. This campaign concerns the harboring of so-called terrorists on our soil with the aim of destabilizing certain neighboring countries and of serving as a transit point for arms bound for other criminals. I challenge anyone, I repeat, anyone, to present proof of these charges to the world public.

On the international level, authenticity is still present in the promotion of the principle of "openness to the world," which prompts Zaire to cooperate with the two ideological blocs, thanks to its sincere loyalty to the Nonaligned Movement and the philosophy of positive neutrality as advocated by the Nsele Manifesto. [passage omitted]

Therefore, both within and outside the country, the MPR has imposed itself as the ideal framework within which all the people of Zaire chart and organize their lives, as well as their relations with other peoples of the world.

Finally, allow me to emphasize that it is still the ideology of authenticity that led me to propose the creation of the League of Black African Nations, the merits of which will be understood, sooner or later, I am certain, by the nations concerned. [passage omitted]

The MPR has launched sweeping reforms in national education to help eliminate obscurantism and illiteracy, and ensure training that takes account of national realities.

It has thus democratized and distributed among the different strata and among all the regions, the benefits of primary, secondary, professional, higher, and university education.

The miracle of our party's policy is to have succeeded in turning this country, once last in the field of education, into one of the leaders in Africa, with one of the highest number of well-trained officers. [passage omitted]

For me, though, the MPR's most significant social accomplishment was the change our philosophy of authenticity has brought about in every Zairian. The Zairians have become a people of new men and new women. It is evident that in our determination to assert Zairian nationalism, we must guarantee that this nationalism is authentic. This word, in itself, sums up our entire ideology, which is authenticity. [passage omitted]

Although we have more than one reason to rejoice at the MPR's achievements, we must also take a quick look back and admit that it was not easy to reach the MPR's objectives.

In fact, even though our state-party has managed to remain faithful to its fundamental principles enshrined in the Nsele Manifesto, the inherent value of which was hailed by every objective observer, we must, regrettably, note that the implementation of our programs has been hampered by some of our shortcomings. These, in turn, were largely caused by the men called upon to help the state-party in its mission. As a matter of fact, we have been saddened to see that some cadres have again indulged in nepotism, regionalism, tribalism, and political patronage. All these practices are contrary to MPR values. Despite what some militants from the hinterland or the capital may believe or tell me frequently, I am not letting things go.

As the Central Committee members stressed in their 12th ordinary session, abuses will not go unpunished. As such, I have already engaged in deep reflection with a view to launching a thorough shakeup of our party's human resources. I do not want to do things hastily, but believe me: "Nothing will ever remain as it was."

We will take all necessary measures to get each militant to effectively put into practice the rich and varied teachings of our party's doctrine, Mobutuism. [passage omitted]

The MPR's political accomplishments — national unity, peace, the creation and organization of the state, promotion of the democratic operation of our institutions, and respect for human rights — show clearly I am correct when I say, as I often do, that there are no political problems in Zaire.

However, the improvement of the functioning of our state-party, as noted earlier, and the militants' "assimilation" of the values and demands of authenticity are additional assets that will contribute to the success of our fight for economic development and social progress.

Under these conditions, and with the revolutionary commitment of the 34.5 million enthusiastic and active militants, the MPR will surmount the economic crisis, consolidate national unity, and complete the establishment, in this modern state, of a truly social and democratic republic where everyone will find it pleasant to live. [passage omitted]

State Commissioner Liyonda Leaves for Italy

AB261125 Kinshasa AZAP in French 0815 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Kinshasa, 25 May (AZAP) — Citizen Ekila Liyonda, state commissioner for foreign affairs and international cooperation, left here this evening at the head of a high-level Executive Council delegation for a 10-day official mission to Italy.

In the Italian capital, Citizen Ekila will take part in the deliberations of the Zairian-Italian Joint Cooperation Commission from 26 May to 5 June.

BENIN

Acting Head of State Receives Nigerian Ambassador

AB262224 Cotonou Domestic Service in French
1930 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Comrade Romain Vilon Guezo, chairman of the Revolutionary National Assembly Permanent Committee, who is acting for the head of state, granted an audience this afternoon to His Excellency Olajigbewo Odefemiwa, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to Benin. The Nigerian diplomat came to pick up a message for the Nigerian president.

[Begin recording] [Odefemiwa] I have come to meet with the chairman of the Revolutionary National Assembly Permanent Committee. He invited me and entrusted me to deliver this important message to my government and president.

[Reporter] Can you tell us about the current status of bilateral cooperation?

[Odefemiwa] Our bilateral cooperation is still at the level of joint projects. We have, nevertheless, made some progress and are beginning to understand each other as far as the conditions needed to efficiently implement these joint projects are concerned. [end recording]

BURKINA FASO

'Antigovernment' Leaflets Circulate in Capital

AB251858 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 25 May 87

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Burkina Faso's Captain Thomas Sankara has had a rare public reminder that not everyone is happy with his revolutionary government. Last week marked the 4th anniversary of his own detention by a government he later overthrew. The anniversary, known as Anti-Imperialist Day, is usually marked with organized student marches. But this year, antigovernment elements have been showing their displeasure with Capt Thomas Sankara's CNR [National Council of the Revolution] government. From Ouagadougou, John Baxter cabled this report:

[Begin recording] This year, there was a certain lack of enthusiasm in these marches and for the first time in years, even tangible evidence of opposition to the revolution. This came in the form of antigovernment graffiti on walls and leaflets which stridently criticized Sankara and the CNR. The two leaflets circulating in Ouagadougou are so vicious that people are handling them like hot potatoes, secretly passing them to friends, apparently afraid to be seen in possession of a copy.

The first, which appeared last Wednesday, is called: "An Open Letter to Thomas Sankara," and is signed by the ASO, the Association of Academics in Ouagadougou. The leaflet accuses Sankara of surrounding himself with bootlickers and sycophants and says that he has betrayed the same students and teachers who took to the streets to call for his release, (?enabling) his rise to power 4 years ago.

The second leaflet accuses the government of being against trade unions. It refers to the military presence at the labor exchange on May Day, which resulted in the sudden cancellation of the rally called by the trade unions. It alleges that the government is taking over all trade union activities in Burkina Faso.

There is some confusion here about the sources of the letters, whether they were in fact written by disenchanted students and trade union leaders, or written by others trying to cause a problem for these already disaffected groups. In any event, the official press here is saying very little, making only vague references to certain opportunists and reactionaries in their midst. [end recording]

GHANA

CDR Delegation Returns From Bulgarian Congress

AB260732 Accra Domestic Service in English
2000 GMT 25 May 87

[Text] The political counselor for CDR's [Committees for the Defense of the Revolution], Lieutenant Colonel J.Y. Asase, has returned home from Sofia where he led a two-member delegation to the 10th Congress of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria.

In a speech to the congress, Col Asase noted with serious concern the various forms in which imperialism is using economic and other forms of aid to strangle the revolutionary process in Africa. This, he said, is to divert their course into forms of efficient extraction of surpluses away from the African Continent for the sustained development of capitalist countries. He also conveyed a solidarity message and fraternal greetings from the militants and dedicated cadres of the CDR's of Ghana to the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, and the entire working people of Bulgaria.

The other member of the delegation was the western regional organizing assistant of CDR's, Warrant Officer Class 1 Issa Salifu.

PNDC Member Receives PRC Trade Union Delegation

AB252146 Accra Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 25 May 87

[Text] A member of the PNDC, Mr Ebo Tawiah, has said that the improvement of relations between Chinese trade unions and their African counterparts must be based on a common interest to see an end to oppression and injustice in the world. The PNDC member was speaking during a courtesy call on him by a delegation from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, led by its vice president, Mr Luo Gan, at the Castle, Osu, today.

Mr Ebo Tawiah was of the view that all working people who believe that injustice is a drawback to world peace and progress should unite to eliminate economic and military domination by

the forces of imperialism. He said world peace does not depend on the removal of nuclear weapons alone but also on the elimination of social injustices as well. Mr Tawiah stated further that the time has come for working people to collectively institute some form of authority on decisions affecting their well-being and existence as individuals. It was his hope that the delegation's visit will offer the opportunity for Chinese and Ghanaian labor leaders to exchange views on how their movements can contribute positively and effectively towards the social and economic development of their countries as well as the advancement of world peace. Mr Ebo Tawiah also briefed the delegation on the December 31 process initiated by the revolution.

Mr Luo Gan, speaking on behalf of the delegation, observed that relations between China and Ghana had seen a marked improvement since the visit to China by the chairman of the PNDC, Flight Lieutenant Rawlings, in 1985. He stated that Ghana, under the leadership of the PNDC, has made important strides in its efforts to improve the socioeconomic conditions of its people. Mr Luo Gan, however, stressed the need for increased education of the working people to enable them to realize that the only way working conditions can be improved is through increased productivity. He urged all working people to aim at increased productivity so that the new world economic order becomes a reality. Mr Luo Gan said Chinese trade unions are ready to cooperate with their Third World counterparts to realize their goals in national development efforts.

LIBERIA

Education Official Criticizes Student Union

AB262156 Paris AFP in English 1543 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Monrovia, May 26 (AFP) — The Liberian Student Union (LINSU) is composed of "disappointed and frustrated political activists," Deputy Education Minister Charles Breeze has charged here Tuesday, saying members of the controversial body included school drop-outs who had left the classrooms three to five years ago.

A bill introduced by the House of Representatives (?intended) to dissolve LINSU was defeated by the Senate for fear the ban would create student unrest.

The bill accused the union of creating confusion in society, and charged that LINSU had been infiltrated by political activists with "foreign ideology," a term used here by the authorities to mean communism or socialism.

LINSU Secretary-General Alaric Tokpa denied the Education Ministry's charges, calling them "mere propaganda." He accused certain government officials of undermining the student organization "for their own selfish political gains."

NIGER

Chad Minister Delivers Habre Message to Kountche

AB261304 Niamey Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] President Seyni Kountche, chairman of the Supreme Military Council and head of state, received Chadian Foreign Minister Gouara Lassou this morning.

Gouara Lassou, who had earlier visited Ivory Coast, delivered a message from Chadian President Hissein Habre. He also discussed the current military situation in Chad with President Kountche. Here is the head of the Chadian diplomatic service speaking to reporters after his meeting with the head of state, which was also attended by Amadou Fiti Maiga, the acting minister of foreign affairs and cooperation:

[Begin recording] Even though we were talking about national reconciliation, we also tackled certain issues regarding Mr Goukouni. However, the goal of my visit does not particularly concern what Mr Goukouni came here for.

I took the opportunity to brief President Kountche on the military situation in Chad. As you know, the Libyans are still in Chad, although their last military positions in the Tibesti Mountains have been evacuated. However, there are still some Libyans in the Aozou Strip and others on the border between Chad and Sudan. The threat of Libyan terrorist action against Chad also remains. Thus, all these things are worth bringing to the attention of Chad's friends, and of its immediate neighbors in particular.

In addition, I told President Kountche about our contacts and discussions with Mr Goukouni and his men. As you know, we have been holding talks with Goukouni and his men since March. Although we have not yet achieved any tangible results, we are still in touch, and the discussions continue. We hope to achieve something that will help safeguard Chad's territorial integrity and its very existence, for all these are threatened. Therefore, in the face of this danger, the sons of Chad have no alternative but to reconcile and form a united front to face the common enemy. The Chadian Government believes personal feelings should be set aside and the national interest be permitted to prevail.

That, in a nutshell, is the situation in Chad, on which I briefed President Kountche. [end recording]

MOZAMBIQUE

Renamo Kills 91, Seizes 6 Foreign Charity Workers

AU231513 Paris AFP in English 1502 GMT 23 May 87

[Text] Lisbon, May 23 (AFP) — Mozambique rebels said here on Saturday they had killed a total of 91, including 45 government troops, 27 Tanzanians and 19 Zimbabweans, and captured foreign workers in several attacks staged this week.

The National Resistance of Mozambique (Renamo) rebels said six charity workers captured on May 13 had been seized "solely to ensure their safety".

In a communique, Renamo said that the foreigners, together with an 18-month-old baby, had been taken to a zone under rebel control and that international humanitarian organizations would be asked to help with their release.

In Harare on May 15, a spokesman for the organisation Youth With a Mission identified the captured aid workers as Kindra Bryan, 29, a U.S. nurse, Philip and Victoria Cooper from Zimbabwe and their baby daughter Abigail, Zimbabwean nurse Joan Goodman, and Roy Perkins from Australia and his Zimbabwean wife Patricia.

The seven had been captured in an attack on a farm and religious mission near Maforga, central Mozambique, Renamo said.

The Renamo statement said the Tanzanian troops were killed during a May 19 guerrilla attack on six positions held jointly by Zimbabwean, Tanzanian and Mozambique Government in the regions of Namacurra, "Zero" and Nucuadala of the northern Mozambique province of Zambezia.

Another three Tanzanians were taken prisoner during the attack, the statement said, adding that a large quantity of military equipment, including nine Soviet-made tanks.

Renamo said that on May 20 its forces staged sabotage attacks against five different points on the railway linking the Mozambican port of Beira to Zimbabwe.

On May 19, Renamo said, the guerrillas destroyed "the most important strategic bridge" of the railway linking the towns of Moamba and Magude, about 100 kilometres (60 miles) northwest of Maputo.

Notes Clash With Malawians

LD262140 Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Renamo announced in Lisbon today that its forces have killed 37 Malawian soldiers and 9 Mozambicans in an attack on the northern Mozambican town of Malene.

The communique, which was signed by Paulo Oliveira, Renamo spokesman and delegate for Europe, says that the rebels fired on a Malawian battalion headquartered in Malene. According to the communique, which was distributed in Lisbon, the Malawian battalion was forced to flee, allowing the rebels to seize a considerable amount of military equipment.

SOUTH AFRICA

Police Issue Unrest Report Covering 26 May

MB270810 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0806 GMT 27 May 87

[Text] Pretoria, May 27, SAPA — The following is the SAP Directorate of Public Relations unrest report:

"The following incidents of unrest were reported overnight:

"Three private houses, one each at Kwa Mashu, near Durban, Gugulethu, near Cape Town and Imbali, near Pietermaritzburg, were damaged in petrol bomb attacks.

"In Soweto, three railway carriages were damaged when they were set alight.

"Yesterday afternoon at 1600h a large group of blacks at the Lorraine mine, Odendaalsrus, stoned mine security officials and overturned two privately owned vehicles.

"A white security official was slightly injured and two other white men seriously injured. Security officials dispersed the mob with tearsmoke. Police later arrested three black men."

Press Comments on Current Issues, Problems

MB261122 [Editorial Report]

CITIZEN on U.S. Reaction to Car Bombs

"The U.S. Senate decision to ban economic aid to Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) members who harbour ANC terrorists is the first favourable development in U.S. attitudes towards South Africa," remarks Johannesburg *The Citizen* in English on 23 May in its page 6 editorial. But *The Citizen* expresses "great disappointment over the wishy-washy statement by the U.S. Embassy over this week's terrorist attack in Johannesburg." The paper believes Ambassador Edward Perkins should have condemned the two bomb explosions in Johannesburg in "the strongest possible terms, at the same time calling on the ANC to renounce violence and join the negotiations for a new South Africa."

CITIZEN on British Business Links With ANC

The page 6 editorial in Johannesburg *The Citizen* in English on 25 May says "sixty executives from Britain's biggest multinationals are going to meet Oliver Tambo, the ANC leader, to discuss their future role in the South African economy 'under a Black government.'" "At its most favourable interpretation, the talks with Oliver Tambo are a way of finding out what kind of deal British businessmen would have if the ANC took over. At worst, it is an attempt to buy their future in the event of the country being run by the ANC (which we do not believe will happen). Either way, the businessmen are a pretty poor lot when

one considers the atrocities that the ANC commits, like the one in Johannesburg last week."

STAR on Role of Businessmen

"In its current situation the Government cannot afford to rebuff the business sector or its considerable expertise," says a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg *The Star* in English on 25 May. "It is incomprehensible that Mr Botha should expect businessmen to become sleeping [inactive] partners when their very existence depends on sound economic and political solutions." "If he locks out business Mr Botha is ensuring that the worst face of irresponsible capitalism is turned towards the black community. Nothing could more effectively enhance the dubious attractions of socialism."

U.S. Aid Threat Hard To Implement

A second editorial on the same page says the U.S. Senate vote "to refuse aid to southern African countries which harbour terrorists at least provides some sort of counter-balance to its glib imposition of sanctions." "If the Senate motion applies even a little pressure on South Africa's neighbour states, it will have acted as some brake on the escalation of violence. As a signal, the vote was important, but it is a resolution difficult to put into effect both politically and practically. South Africa cannot relax its vigilance. The terror war is not over yet."

Negotiation Only Option

On the same page Anthony Robinson comments on the booklet, "The World and South Africa in the 1990's," written by Clem Sunter, and commissioned by the Anglo American corporation. Sunter says South Africans "must choose between the difficult high road of survival through negotiation or the low road of coercion and domination." Sunter does not believe that cooption will work because "'anyone co-opted will immediately lose credibility with his own side and for that reason would be ruled out of the negotiation process.'" "'The negotiation option is full of risk, but it is the only one which leads ultimately to genuine prosperity for all.'" "As for the form of negotiations, the book suggests following the procedures laid down at East-West summit meetings and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (Salt)."

BUSINESS DAY on Car Bomb Explosions

Johannesburg *Business Day* in English on 25 May comments on the two car bomb explosions in Johannesburg, saying "South Africans must look beyond the inevitable reaction, which will be hatred, retribution, polarisation and a security clampdown involving the further erosion of civil liberties. Disparate political forces, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, who oppose violence can come together not only to condemn it but to work to undo the psychosis the bombers seek to create. Parliamentary forces can increase their efforts, not to placate the bombers but to isolate them from the majority of the black population by addressing black political grievances. Extra-parliamentary forces can help in this, firstly by persuading people not to use bombs."

CAPE TIMES on Detention Without Trial

"Detention without trial, in one form or another, has existed in South Africa for years but has not stopped the bombs," says a page 8 editorial in Cape Town *Cape Times* in English on 22 May. "It has exacerbated things. With apartheid, it stands in the way of ending the ratcheting violence that grips South Africa."

NP 'Scare' Tactics Setback for Reconciliation

"Mr Colin Eglin said in the Assembly this week that the SA Communist Party and the ANC were the greatest beneficiaries of the Nationalist election campaign, having become the focal point of the proceedings as a result of NP scare propaganda," states a second editorial on the same page. The paper further notes that the "NP's anti-ANC campaign, linking the PFP and the ANC-SACP as allies, was greatly damaging to the PFP, particularly the communist smear-by-association. As Mr Eglin says, the result was an election victory for the NP — but a setback for reconciliation and the finding of a basis for peaceful co-existence in South Africa."

BEELD on U.S. Senate Aid Vote

Johannesburg *Beeld* in Afrikaans on 25 May comments in a page 14 editorial on the U.S. Senate vote to stop aid to southern African countries which harbor ANC "terrorists," saying "perhaps the U.S. Senate has realized that bombs, land mines, and necklaces will never liberate South Africa." "South Africa is not overly optimistic about the American decision, but it is nevertheless grateful for the new insight. The U.S. must simply remember that when South Africa again punishes the ANC in neighboring countries, it does so with the implicit support of the U.S. Senate, which has confirmed terrorist activities by the ANC."

BEELD on CP

A second editorial on the same page says "if the CP wants to present itself as an alternative government, then it must rethink its image of South Africa as a chess board on which pawns are indiscriminately moved around. But perhaps it is too much to ask since it is more enjoyable to dream than to occupy itself with the unpleasant realities of the present and to help search for a solution. It is also easier, since the CP realizes that it will never be in the position to give shape to its dreams."

RAPPORT: CP 'Provoking' Bloodbath

A page 28 editorial in Johannesburg *Rapport* in Afrikaans for 24 May says: "The CP and its leader cannot give a watertight assurance that there will be no bloodbath in the country if the realities of South Africa are handled incorrectly. It takes only common sense to see that the CP is provoking those realities by reaching back to a policy of exclusive political power." "The policy which [CP leader] Treurnicht offers as a 'commendable idea' boils down to refusing to offer our hand to the black majority — not only to the radicals of today, but also to the moderates who will undoubtedly be the radicals of tomorrow. This is a gesture which the black people of the country can only interpret as a sure sign that their freedoms will only be those which the whites grant them — nothing more and nothing less." *Rapport* believes that the CP should be asked whether it is aware of "what will happen if its 'commendable idea' is overtaken and fails in practice. But by that time there will surely be no black moderates in the country, only a black proletariat with its own 'commendable idea' of absolute power."

Vosloo on Colored, Indian Politics

Johan Vosloo writes on page 29 that "forming parties, alliances and pressure groups is the order of the day" in the House of

Delegates and House of Representatives. But, "one thing is certain, and that is that ideological differences have nothing to do with the creation of parties and defections. Ideologically, every member of the two Houses is solidly opposed to the government and the remnants of apartheid. There are, however, differences between the majority parties in the Houses and their opposition groups as to how to fight the government. Some of the opposition groups believe representation at cabinet level by the respective leaders is embarrassing since these have been placed in a position of 'junior partners.'" Vosloo believes that the "similar thinking in the two Houses has led to boring parliamentary politics. There is little about which they differ and the attacks on the practices of apartheid have become well worn." Forming groups around particular individuals is therefore more understandable. Vosloo hopes the upcoming debate on general affairs will "allow unpleasant internal politics to take a back seat."

27 May Press Review

MB270826 [Editorial Report]

CITIZEN: Independents Unlikely To Oust NP

"That the Worrall Independents intend to start a new party does not surprise us," says Johannesburg *The Citizen* in English on 26 May in its page 6 editorial. "The new multiracial party is to be financed by Big Business, led by the very same people who broke up the United Party. They intend now to break up the Progressive Federal Party even though they were the chief source of its funds." *The Citizen* believes "businessmen will again find that they have backed the wrong horse. The Official Opposition is the CP. If any opposition party has any chance of ever ousting the NP it will be the CP, not a party of the Left."

STAR: KwaNdebele RSA Responsibility

A page 10 editorial in Johannesburg *The Star* in English on 26 May comments on the "systematic assaults on detainees at a Kwandebele police station," saying: "It is not enough to dismiss the torture as being typical of what happens in a banana republic. It is true that Kwandebele is about to become such a republic, but it is also true that the territory lies less than 100 kilometres from Pretoria, and that South Africa spawned it, owns it and runs it." "South Africa's Minister of Law and Order must bear ultimate responsibility for the brutality that has festered in an arid strip of land that is South Africa, no matter that it has been mockingly labelled 'homeland'. What is the Minister going to do about it? Where are his vaunted 'safeguards' for detainees now?"

Government Needs To Restore Trust of Blacks

"The State President's invitation to black leaders to talk on the country's future should be commended," says a second editorial on the same page. However, "not only the UDF but Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi won't talk unless Nelson Mandela is freed." *The Star* believes "there will be black people willing to talk to the Government, but credible leaders with a proven constituency will not be forthcoming unless this yawning gap in perception is bridged. For instance, Mr Botha cannot wage a witch-hunt against people contravening the Group Areas Act while offering a friendly handshake. Trust must be restored first. He can signal his bona fides by scrapping the Act."

Sanctions Unlikely To Bring Change

Andre du Pisani, director of research at the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg, believes that "it may take 10 years before sanctions against South Africa start to bite," writes Gerald L'ange on the same page. "Paradoxically, they could hit blacks and English-speakers harder than the ruling Afrikaner elite. And they could bring about military rule." Du Pisani says "'it is more than likely that black South Africans will be hurt more than whites (and certainly more than the regime) in the short term, but this may change in the medium to long term.'" "Sanctions in combination with economic, demographic and social factors may increase the cost of white domination but are unlikely on their own to 'result in significant political reorientation of the regime, let alone result in its sudden collapse.'"

BUSINESS DAY on Postal Increases

"We do not quarrel with the Post Office budget but with government's slack-jawed, limp-wristed approach to curbing inflation," notes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg *Business Day* in English on 26 May. "The tariff increases seem to us reasonable under the circumstances." However, many businesses are "driven to despair by postal inefficiencies. It is time the system was thrown open entirely to permit all and any competing service." "To apply business principles without free entry for competitors is to sacrifice the best aspects of free enterprise while entrenching the worst aspect of socialism: monopoly, inefficiency, feather-bedding and over-pricing."

Uys on White Liberalism

On the same page Stanley Uys writes from London on talks he had with Afrikaner academics who believe "white 'liberalism' has shifted substantially to the right. In its new Afrikaner-orientated setting it will not allow black radicals to set either its content or its pace." Uys says the dilemma of white "liberalism" has always been: "credibility with the white group has been at the expense of credibility with the black group." "The dynamics of change in white politics are out of phase with the dynamics of change in the black struggle."

CAPE TIMES Condemns Press Restrictions

Cape Town *Cape Times* in English on 25 May notes in a page 4 editorial: "Clearly, with the election behind it, the government is intent on pressing ahead with its repressive security policies, limiting information about the consequences of its policies to a minimum, throwing journalists out of the country and restricting the South African press. It is a dismal outlook for the public's right to know what is going on around them."

SOWETAN Urges Security for All

The page 6 editorial in Johannesburg *Sowetan* in English on 26 May says it wishes to "appeal to those who rule this country that we are not stupid. How can we be expected to reach out in friendship when there is so much sorrow and unhappiness in our communities? How can we put on the Christian face of love and patience when our children are in jail? Mr Botha's problem is that he has to address a divided society in his messages, however sincere he wishes to be." "To us, the beefing up of the security system means more repression, more strictures, more detentions. If the Government was honest it would be speaking to South Africans in one voice. The security of this country is as much the

security of a black man whose child is in prison as a white parent whose child has to go to the border."

'Focus' on NUMSA

"The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa [NUMSA] which was formed at the weekend, sets its sights beyond organising at the factory floor — it aims at embarking on a political programme based on the Freedom Charter which it says outlines what the working class wants," writes Themba Molefe in the "Focus" column on the same page. "NUMSA's support for the Freedom Charter follows a similar resolution adopted by the NUM at its congress earlier this year and COSATU is likely to follow its two biggest affiliates in that direction." "Incoming NUMSA president, Mr Daniel Dube, said the union endorsed COSATU's living wage campaign and would demand a wage of R4.50 an hour for all motor and metal workers and 40-hour week, the right to strike and six months' paid maternity leave from employers."

BURGER on U.S., ANC

A page 14 editorial in Cape Town *Die Burger* in Afrikaans on 25 May says there is "a greater level-headedness in the United States toward South Africa." There is a "strong stand against necklace murders and terrorism against the republic," and "sanctions against Angola to remove approximately 35,000 Cubans from the country have been proposed." *Die Burger* says the "wild statements that ANC leader Oliver Tambo made during his visit to the United States, together with barbaric necklace murders, could have contributed to Americans opening their eyes to the true nature of the ANC." Some Americans "realize that the ANC practices naked terrorism."

BEELD on Britain, ANC

"Margaret Thatcher said last week that sanctions are counter-productive, as they hinder reform," says a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg *Beeld* in Afrikaans. However, *Beeld* believes that because the ANC political headquarters are in London, Britain is a "springboard for terrorist activities against South Africa." "Mrs Thatcher talks of economic sanctions, but is ANC violence not just as effective a form of sanctions? It scares away investors and undermines business confidence and the democratic process. Yet Thatcher tolerates this while she is seemingly trying to help South Africa."

ZIMBABWE

Mugabe Condemns U.S. Senate Vote on African Aid

MB251939 Harare Domestic Service in English 1802 GMT 25 May 87

[Speech by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe to mark the 24th anniversary of the Organization of African Unity; place not given — live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, comrades and friends: Good evening. Today we have been celebrating Africa Day, a day which always falls on 25 May, the exact day on which in 1963 the Organization of African Unity, the OAU, was formed. [passage omitted]

Whereas in May 1963 there were only 30 independent African states, there are at present 51 member states of the OAU, with South Africa and Namibia as the only two countries still to be liberated. As you are aware, the decolonization process is promoted by the OAU through the coordinating committee for the liberation of Africa, known in brief as the liberation committee with which all African liberation movements and we ourselves derived immense assistance. Today we must therefore also remember that our own independence was assiduously worked for by the OAU and express to it our debts of gratitude. Indeed we are not the only liberation movement to have benefited from the establishment of the OAU. [passage omitted]

It is our primary national responsibility, all of us, as Zimbabweans, and all of us as a defense, security, and law and order force, to continue our gallant postindependence struggle to defend, preserve, and consolidate our hard-won freedom and sovereign (?power) against the evil machinations and disruptive activities of those internal reactionaries and external forces of aggression and destabilization. We are no longer in any doubt that those who cherish apartheid are intent upon the destruction of our democratic system so that their evil system can, through lack of opposition, be vindicated. What these proponents of racism fail to realize is that the danger to their immoral and inhuman system is inherent in it and does not stem from an external source.

It is why more and more people within South Africa are growing more and more embittered and firmly determined to resist apartheid with their blood. Those oppressed broad masses of South Africa and Namibia can together with liberation movements which lead them derive inspiration and comfort from the fact that the OAU cherishes their objective of freedom and democracy in the same way as they cherish our own, and thus the liberation committee continues to be active in assistance of the just struggles they are waging. They should also derive comfort and encouragement from the condemnation by the international community as a whole of apartheid as an iniquitous and retrograde social system.

It is against this background of wide condemnation of apartheid as an inhuman system and of the general international support of the freedom struggle by the South African oppressed masses that the reasons for the recent decision by the United States Senate proposing the withdrawal of aid from the Frontline States baffles not only our logic but sense of morality, fair play, and justice. What emerges from this decision is a clear message that if we the Frontline States desire American aid we must not oppose apartheid, either directly or indirectly, or even by mere silence. If we are silent on the use of necklaces by those prompted by the apartheid system to use them in their fight against it, we have offended against the American sense of moral justice and the penalty we must pay is the withdrawal of aid.

Conversely, to qualify for more dollars we should condemn the ANC, PAC, UDF, and the trodden South African masses in revolt. In other words, if we denounce the forces opposed to apartheid, it will please Washington and the USA Senate and incline them towards greater generosity and openheartedness. Was the Senate ever sincere to itself when last year it voted for sanctions against South Africa?

The apartheid system is a racial war unleashed against all in South Africa who are nonwhite and those who are white who support the nonwhite struggle for freedom, justice, and the creation of a democratic, nonracial society.

We, the Frontline States, have no choice but to support such struggles in furtherance of the cardinal political and moral principles we espouse, and upon which our society and others, including the Americans', are founded. But, of course, the Senate voice is dominantly the voice of whites who value more the color of their skins than justice being done to the black people. They cannot as racists at heart, though with the hypocritical gimmick of turning liberal when expediency so demands, be expected to do any better than demonstrating what they really are and stand for. They are undoubtedly supporters of Botha because Botha is white and stands for white supremacy in South Africa, as they do in the United States.

Let them be told, if they have not heard it before, that Africa is for the Africans, and this means that across the continent blacks, and blacks in capital letters, must have the power. But we blacks have a larger soul than the white United States senators, which accepts other racial communities and treats them as equals in every way possible. We have demonstrated this magnanimity in Zimbabwe; they have done so in Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and Angola; they will certainly do so in South Africa and Namibia. Africa must be free, Nkurumah said in 1957. Africa must be totally free, we say in 1987.

No, Mr Reagan, honorable senators, we would rather have poverty and hunger, than receive peace in lucre, in purchase of our sacred principles. Your 30 million, or is it 30 billion, pieces of silver for the enslavement of our fellow blacks in South Africa, please keep to yourselves. Our humanity and our personality come first. For us, black is far more beautiful than the American dollar. In short, we cannot sacrifice our sovereign right to decide our policy. Our people did not shed their blood for freedom and independence so that we can surrender it for dollars to the United States or any power for that matter.

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades and friends, we say happy 25th [as heard] anniversary to the OAU and to Africa. I trust all of us shall remain cognizant of the significance of our unity in Africa and the unity of our own nation, the sovereignty of which nation we must continue to preserve and defend at all costs. Shall we also remain cognizant of the fact that the OAU's objective of a totally decolonized Africa will remain unfulfilled as long as South Africa and Namibia are not liberated? Let us continue to support them whatever opposed immoral voices come from other quarters. Long live Africa. Long live African unity. Long live the struggle for liberation. Good night.